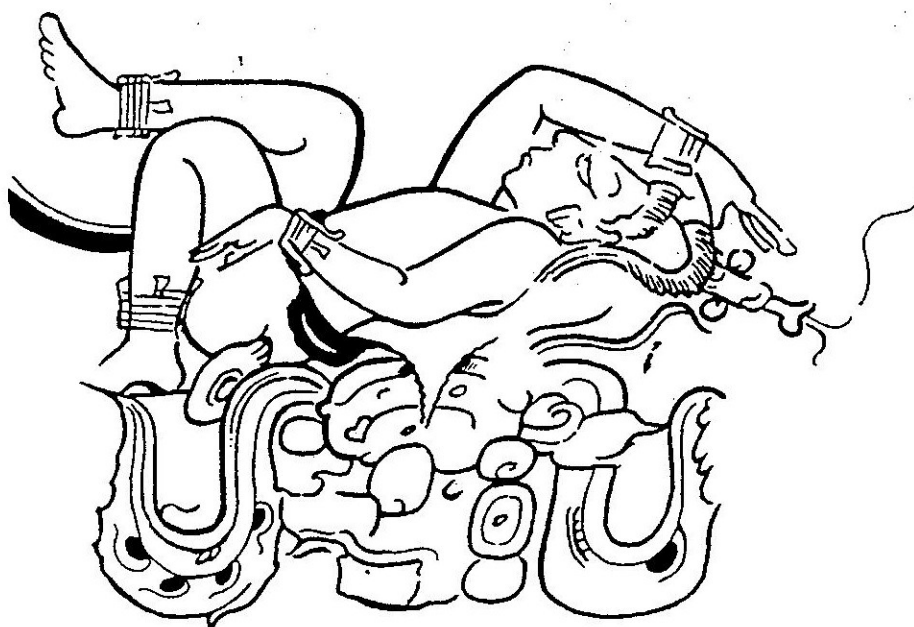


Notebook for the XXIIIrd

Maya Hieroglyphic Forum at Texas

March, 1999



THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

Notebook for the XXIIIrd

Maya Hieroglyphic Forum at Texas

Introduction to
Reading Maya Hieroglyphics

by

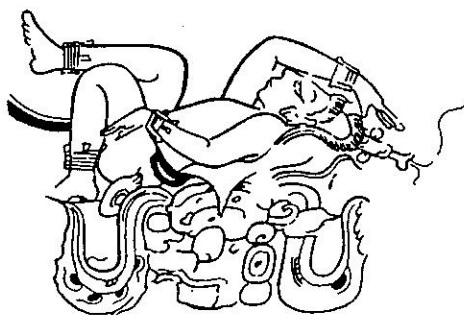
Linda Schele

Recovering the Past:

Classic Maya Language
and
Classic Maya Gods

by

David Stuart Stephen Houston John Robertson



Department of Art and Art History, the College of Fine Arts, and
the Institute of Latin American Studies

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

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Classic Mayan Language

- I. Introduction: Models, Objectives, and Methods
- II. Mayan Languages and their History
- III. Overview of Mayan Phonology and Grammar
- IV. Classic Mayan Noun and Verb Morphology: Is there 'Split Ergativity'?
- V. The Aspect and Tense Controversy (*with guest appearance by Barbara MacLeod and Robert Wald*)
- VI. Classic Mayan as Prestige Language and Ancestor of Ch'ol'ti'

General Concepts

Orientation

- Foundational priority of coeval, glyphic evidence
- Necessity of historical and comparative approach; finding coherence and consistency
- Finding the most effective fusion of epigraphic and linguistic data
- The route to meaning

Why is this Topic Important?

- Relevance to decipherment
- Sustained interest to epigraphers
- Timing and urgent topicality
- Supreme pertinence of Ch'orti' and implications of this linkage

Models of Language and Glyphs

- 'Pre-Linguistic' or 'Pre-Syntactic'
- 'Pre-Affiliational'
- 'Affiliational'
 - I. 'Unitary'
 - A. 'Pre-differentiation'/Proto-Ch'olan'
 - B. 'Single Ch'olan or Yukatekan Language'
 - II. 'Mosaic' (e.g., Ch'ol and Yukatek; or branches of Ch'olan)
 - III. 'Prestige' or 'Diglossic' (Ch'olti', with multiple vernaculars)

Terms

See Glossary.

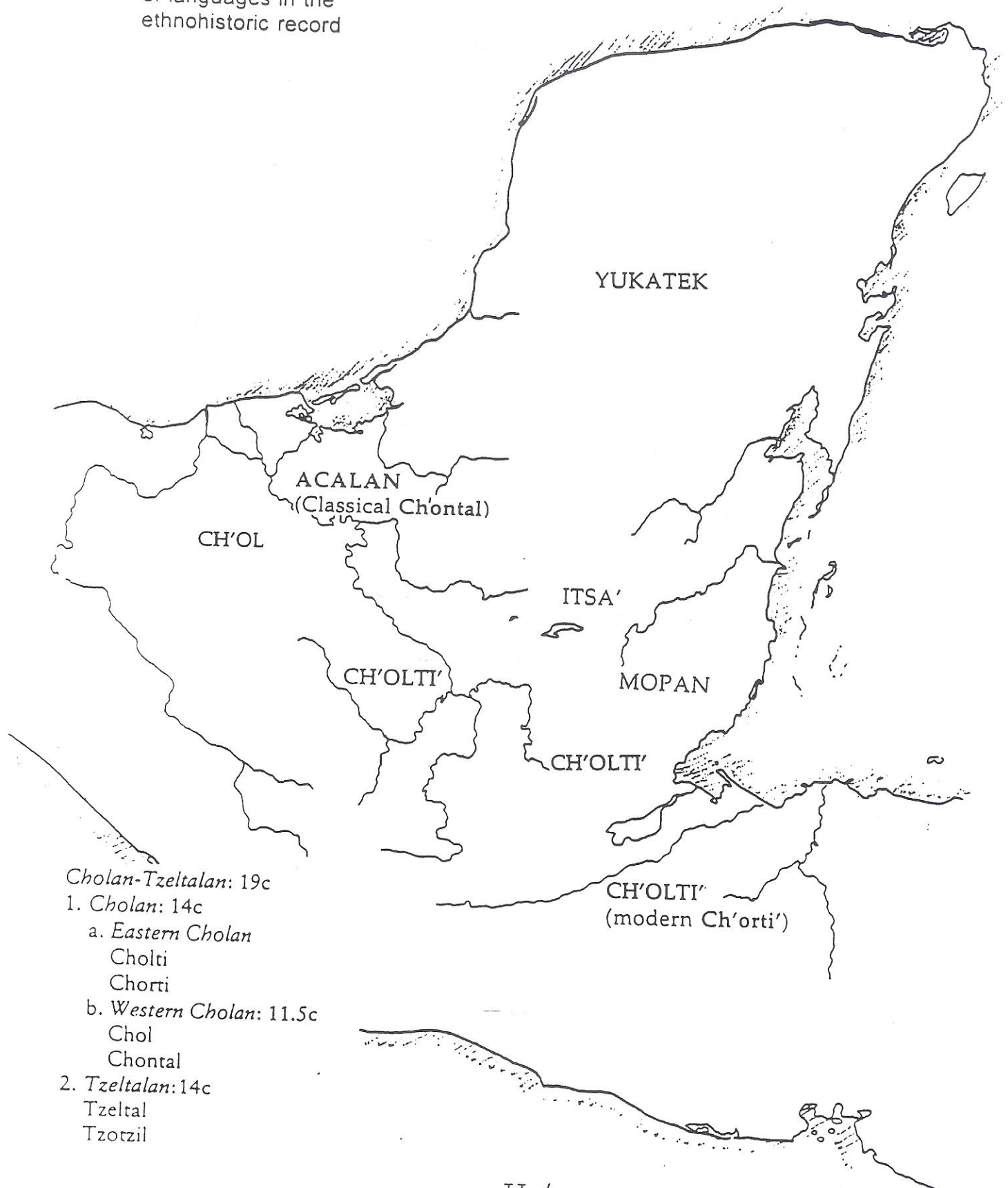
Acknowledgments

Our deepest thanks and affection go out to Linda Schele, who soon before her passing invited us to present our ideas at the 1999 Forum. As scholar, teacher and friend, Linda lives on in our hearts and through the immortal legacy of ideas she created in Austin and in the Maya world.

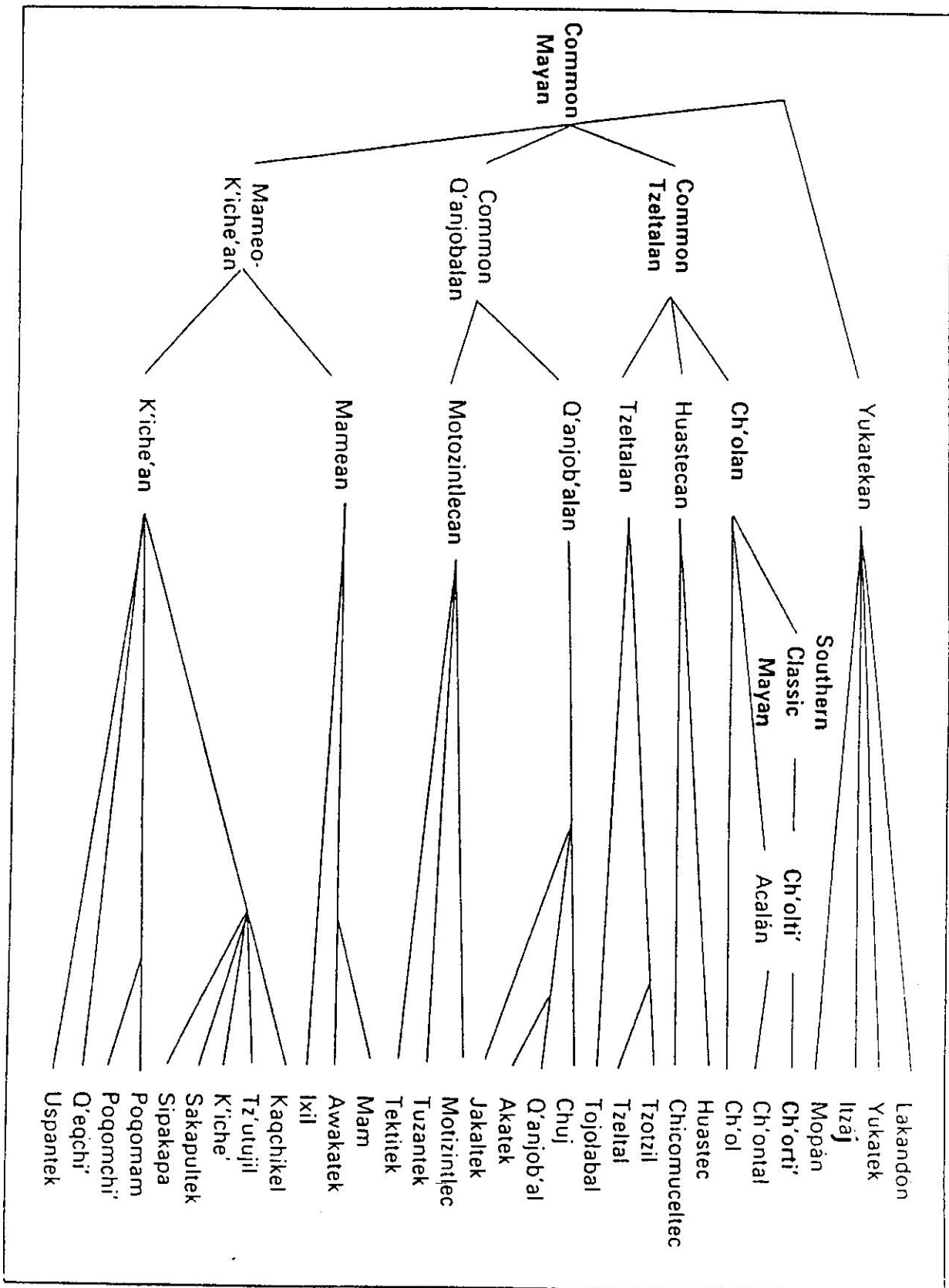
Most of this workbook was produced during a very intense couple of weeks at the Peabody Museum in Cambridge, MA, in late February, 1999, at the offices of the Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions. Steve would like to thank BYU's Dean Clayne Pope and the College of Family, Home and Social Studies for their help in bringing about our mini-conferences. From Austin, the ever-patient Peter Keeler spurred us on to finish our portion of the workbook in a (just barely) timely fashion; without him none of this would be possible. Needless to say, each of us offers thanks to our respective wives for their immense help, patience and understanding with us invisible husbands. Last and far from least, Shannon Plank of Boston University was a huge help in the production of the workbook.

Approximate locations of Ch'olan languages, ca. 1520-1700

Attested appearances
of languages in the
ethnohistoric record



Descent of Mayan Languages



Some Important Linguistic Terms

Classic Mayan/script

phoneme
morpheme
assimilation/dissimilation
syncope
vowel harmony

comparative historical method
proto-Mayan/Common Mayan
reflex/cognate

diglossia/high, low language

agent/patient
argument/predicate/proposition
transitive/intransitive
root transitive/derived transitive
single-argument predicate/transitive predicate

tense: past, present, future
aspect: completive/incompletive :: progressive/incompletive
straight ergativity/split-ergativity :: absolutive/ergative
nominalizer

mood: declarative/optative
voice: passive/anti-passive voice

simple vowels/complex vowels
synharmony/disharmony

Straight Ergativity

(based on Cholti', Moran)

Absolutive			Ergative		
3	2	1	3	2	1
sg Ø	et	en	sg u-	a-	
pl ob'	ox	on	pl u-...ob'	i-	in- ka-

Possessives

u-mi 'his father'	a-mi 'your father'	in-mi 'my father'	u-mi ob 'their father'	i-mi 'your(pl) father'	ka-mi 'our father'
----------------------	-----------------------	----------------------	---------------------------	---------------------------	-----------------------

Subject of Transitive Verb

u-colo 'he saved it'	a-colo 'you saved it'	in-colo 'I saved it'	u-colo ob 'they saved it'	i-colo 'you(pl) saved it'	ka-colo 'we saved it'
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Subject of Intransitive Verb

tali 'he came'	tali et 'you came'	tali en 'I came'	tali ob 'they came'	tali ox 'you(pl) came'	tali on 'we came'
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Object of Transitive Verb

u-colo 'he saved'	u-colo et 'he saved you'	u-colo en 'he saved me'	u-colo ob 'he saved them'	u-colo ox 'he saved you(pl)'	u-colo on 'he saved us'
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Split-ergative in the Ch'olan languages

Predicate Subject (Piedras Negras panel 3, auxiliary text)

a-winak e:n

'I am your "man" [servant]'

Here, *a-winak* "your man" is the predicate, and *en* 'I' is the subject.

The progressive has an identical propositional structure; *on-going* is the predicate and [his-coming] is the subject:

on-going [his-coming]_{subject}

The C'h'olti' incompletive (came from progressive); *yual* 'on-going' is the predicate and *u-vixnel* 'his going' the subject:

yual u-vixnel 'actualmente se ba'

Ch'ol (from Aulie & Aulie)

Presente Actual (Progressive)

wolic letsel	estoy subiendo
wola' letsel	estás subiendo
woli' letsel	está subiendo
wolic letsel lojon	estamos subiendo (exclusivo)
woli lac letsel	estamos subiendo (inclusivo)
woli la' letsel	están subiendo (ustedes)
woli' letselob	están subiendo (ellos)

Presente (Incompletive)

mic letsel	subo
ma' letsel	subas
mi' letsel	sube
mic letsel lojon	subimos (exclusivo)
mi lac letsel	subimos (inclusivo)
mi la' letsel	suben (ustedes)
mi' letselob	suben (ellos)

Futuro

mi caj c letsel	subiré
mi caj a letsel	subirás
mi caj i letsel	subirá
mi caj lojon c letsel	subiremos (exclusivo)
mi caj lac letsel	subiremos (inclusivo)
mi caj la' letsel	subirán (ustedes)
mi caj i letselob	subirán (ellos)

Past (completive)

tsa' letsion	subí
tsa' letsiet	subiste
tsa' letsi	subió
tsa' letsiyon lojon	subimos (exclusivo)
tsa' letsiyetonla	subimos (inclusivo)
tsa' letsiyetonla	subieron (uds)
tsa' letsiyob	subieron (ellos)

Acalán (after Paxbolon papers)

Incompletive

u-tal-el	'he comes'
a-tal-el	'you come'
ka-tal-el	'I come'
u-tal-el-ob	'they come'
a-tal-el-la	'you come (pl)'
ka-tal-el-la	'we come'

Yuual is now an adverbial; no longer a predicate.

Completive

tal-i	'he came'
tal-et	'you came'
tal-on	'I came'
tal-ob	'they came'
tal-et-la	'you (pl) came'
tal-on-la	'we came'

Ch'oli' (after Morán)

ual u-pacxi-el	'he returns (now)'
ual a-pacxi-el	'you return (now)'
ual in-pacxi-el	'I return (now)'
ual u-pacxi-el ob	'they return (now)'
ual i-pacxi-el	'you (pl) return (now)'
ual ca-pacxi-el	'we (pl) return (now)'

A second present (based on completive)

a-pacxi	'he returns'
a-pacxi et	'you return'
a-pacxi en	'I return'
a-pacxi ob	'they return'
a-pacxi ox	'you (pl) return'
a-pacxi on	'we return'

"futuro en -ruz" 'have to' (based on incompletive)

a-pacxi-el	'he will return'
a-pacxi-el et	'you will return'
a-pacxi-el en	'I will return'
a-pacxi-el ob	'they will return'
a-pacxi-el ox	'you (pl) will return'
a-pacxi-el on	'we will return'

Nota mas, que el presente de los veruos neutros se hace futuro en -ruz, anteponiendole una a, vg. apa ϵ xiel en, tengo de uolberme; atzatpa ϵ l ox, os abeis de perder; a-vixnel on ti Manche, emos de ir al Manche.

Tambien con esta a se hace preterito presente: vixi en, fui, auxi en [a-bixi en], uoi, y lo mesmo hacen los preteritos de los verbos pasivos. (Morán).

Intransitive Verbs

Script	Incompletive	Completive
	Vin-i-ABS hul-i 'he comes'	Vin-i:y-ABS hul-i:y 'he came'
Ch'olti'	I. Incompletive yual ERG-Vin-el yual u...(ob), a-, i, in-, ka- tal-el 'he, they, you, you pl., I, we come' (now)	Completive Vin-i ABS tali Ø...(ob'), et, ox, en, on 'he, they, you, you pl., I, we came'
	II. Incompletive a-Vin-i ABS a-tali en, et, Ø, on, ox, ob' 'I, you, he, we, you pl. they come'	
Ch'orti'	Incompletive ERG2-Vin a...(ob), i-, ix, in-, ka- tar-i 'I, you, he, we, you pl. they come'	Completive Vin-i ABS tari Ø...(ob'), et, ox, en, on (tari+et = tarye't, tari+ox = taryo'x etc.) 'I, you, he, we, you pl. they came'

(Note: The Ch'olti'an forms are based on Morán's grammar.)

-Vy Verbs

Script	Incompletive	Completive
	Vin-Vy-ABS t'ab'-ay-i 'it rises'	Vin-y-i:y-ABS t'ab'y-i:y 'it rose'
Ch'olti'	I. Incompletive yual ERG-Vin-el yual u...(ob), a-, i, in-, ka-tab-el 'he, they, you, you pl., I, we rise' (now)	Completive Vin-ai ABS tab-ai Ø...(ob'), et, ox, en, on 'he, they, you, you pl., I, we arose'
	II. Incompletive a-Vin-i ABS a-t'ab'-ai en, et, Ø, on, ox, 'I, you, he, we, you pl. they rise'	
Ch'orti'	Incompletive ERG2-Vin a...(ob), i-, ix, in-, ka- cham-ay 'I, you, he, we, you pl. they die'	Completive Vin-ay ABS cham-ay Ø...(ob'), et, ox, en, 'I, you, he, we, you pl. they die'

-wan Verbs

Script	Incompletive	Completive
	Vin-wan-i-ABS chum-wan-i 'he sits down'	Vin-wan-i:y-ABS chum-wan-i:y 'he sat down'

Ch'olti'	I. Incompletive	Completive
	yual ERG-Vin-el yual u...(ob), a-, i, in-, ka-coi-tal 'he, they, you, you pl., I, we lie down' (now)	Vin-wan ABS coi-wan Ø...(ob'), et, ox, en, on 'he, they, you, you pl., I, we lay down'

II. Incompletive
a-Vin-i ABS a-coi-wan en, et, Ø, on, ox, ob' [not attested] 'I, you, he, we, you pl. they rise'

Ch'orti'	Incompletive	Completive
	ERG2-Vin a...(ob), i-, ix, in-, ka- a-t'er-wan 'I, you, he, we, you pl. they lean over'	Vin-wan ABS t'er-wan Ø...(ob'), et, ox, en, on 'I, you, he, we, you pl. they lean over'

-h-...aj Verbs Passives

Script	Incompletive	Completive
	CV-h-C-aj-ABS pa-[h]-s-aj 'it is revealed'	CV-h-C-aj-i:y-ABS pa-[h]-s-aj 'it was revealed'

Ch'olti'	I. Incompletive	Completive
	yual ERG-CV-h-C-el yual u...(ob), a-, i, in-, pa-[h]-z-a-l 'he, they, you, you pl., I, we are shown' (now)	CV-h-C ABS pa-[h]-z-a Ø...(ob'), et, ox, en, 'he, they, you, you pl., I, we were shown'

II. Incompletive
a-Vin-i ABS a-pa-[h]-z-a en, et, Ø, on, ox, ob' [not attested] 'I, you, he, we, you pl. they are shown'

Ch'orti'	Incompletive	Completive
	ERG2-Vin a...(ob), i-, ix, in-, ka- a-pa-h-s-a 'I, you, he, we, you pl. they are open'	Vin-wan ABS pa-h-s-a Ø...(ob'), et, ox, en, on 'I, you, he, we, you pl. they were opened'

*The Pronouns of
Common Mayan (CM)
Classic Mayan (CLM)
Ch'olti' (Chlt)
Ch'orti' (Chrt)*

	Third Person				Second Person				First Person			
	CM	CLM	Chlt	Chrt	CM	CLM	Chlt	Chrt	CM	CLM	Chlt	Chrt
sg	*Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	*at	*et	et	et	*in	e:n	en	en
ABS												
pl	*eb'	o:b'	ob'	ob'	*ex	*ox	ox	ox	*o'ŋ	*o:n	on	on
sg	*ru-/y-	u-/y-	u-/y-	u/y-	*a-/aw-	a-/aw-	a-/aw-	a-/aw-	*nu-/w-	ni-/w-	in-/inw-	ni-,in-/w-
ERG												
pl	*ki-/k-	u-/y- ...ob	u-/uy- ...ob'	u-/uy- ...ob' a- a-...ob'	*e-/er-	*i-/iw	i-/yu	i-/iw- i- ix-	*qa-/q-	*ka-/k-	ca-/cau-	ka-/kaw- in- ka-
sg												
ERG1												
pl												

Note: u/uy- means consonant initial, e.g. Ch'orti': u-k'ab' 'his hand'; versus vowel initial, e.g. uy-ar 'her daughter'

Note: In Ch'orti', there are two ergatives, first singular: in- before verbs, and ni- before nouns (possession).

Note: In the Mayan languages, ergatives are always prefixed; absolutes are more clitic-like, enjoying more freedom from the predicate.

Common Mayan

Intransitive Declarative *-ik	Transitive Optative *-oq
Intransitives Declarative *-V _{iw}	Transitive Optative *-V _{i'}

Common Ch'olan

Intransitive Declarative *-i	Transitive Optative *-ik
Intransitives Declarative *-V _{iw}	Transitive Optative *-V _i (')?

Classic Mayan

Intransitive Declarative -i	Transitive Optative -ik
Intransitives Declarative -V _{iw}	Transitive Optative *-V _i (')?

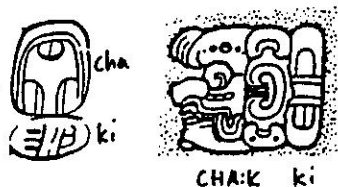
Disharmonic Spellings (CV or CVC and Ci)



A:T-ti, *a:t*, 'penis' (CM: **aary*; MO: *a:t*)



ba-ki, *ba:k*, 'bone' (CM: **b'a:q*; YUC: *baak*; Chol: *bac*; CU: *baaq*; Mam: *baaq*; MO: *ba:q*; POQ: *ba:q*; TOJ: *bak*)



cha-ki/CHA:K-ki, *cha:k*, 'rain god' (YUC: *cháak* [rains, verb], CH: *chajc* [thunder]²)



HA:B-bi, *ha:b*, 'year' (Naranjo HS. 1, Nimli Punit St. 14 [CM: **ha'b*]; YUC: *ha'ab*; CU: *jnaab* [jun aab]; MO: *hab'il* [año], *ju:n-a'b-e:h* 'last year'; TOJ: *ha'b-il*)



ma-xi, *ma:x* (CM: **ma'x*; Mam: *Šmaaš*; CH: *max*)



mu-ku-yi, *muku:y*, 'dove' (Coe 1973:85, U1 [presumed descendant of **muu-kuur*]; MO: *mu:ku:*)



mu-ti, *mu:t*, 'bird' (WM: **mu:t*; CH: *mut*; CHR: *mut*)

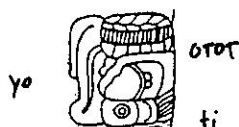


mu-wa-ni, *muwa:n*, 'bird' (probably from **mu-way-a:n*, 'shadow-sleep')

Disharmonic Spellings (CV or CVC and Ci), cont'd



OK-ki, *o:k*, 'foot' (CM: **o:q*; YUC: *ook*; MO: *o:q*)



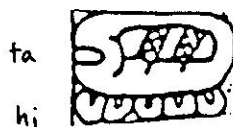
-OTOT-ti, *-oto:t*, 'home' (CM: **aryo:ry*; rendered glyphically as ya-ATO:T-ti at Río Azul in the late Early Classic period, as at Oxkintok; YUC: *-otoch*; Quiché: *-acho:ch*)



pa-ti, *pa:t*, 'back' (CM: **pa:ry*; CH: *pat*; YUC: *paach*)



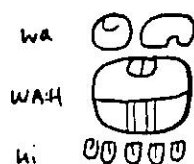
su-ts'i, *su:ts'*, 'bat' (CM: **so'ts'*; CH: *suts'*; San Fransisco [YUC]: *soot* [*so'oet*]; CU: *sootz'*; Teco: *sootz'*; MO: *so:et*)



ta-hi, *ta:h*, 'obsidian' (Copan Mon. 60:A3; see Justeson 1982:6, CM: **rya:h*, and proto-Quichean **cha:h*)

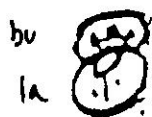


TU:N-ni, *tu-ni*, *tu:n*, 'stone' (CM: **to:η*; YUC: *tuunich*; MO: *to:η*)

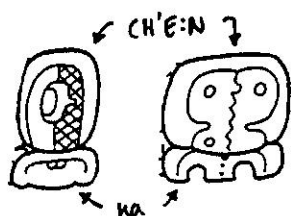


wa-WA:H-hi, *wa:h*, 'tamale' (WM: **wa:j*⁴; YUC: *waaj*; CH: *waj*)

Disharmonic Spellings (CV or CVC and Ca)



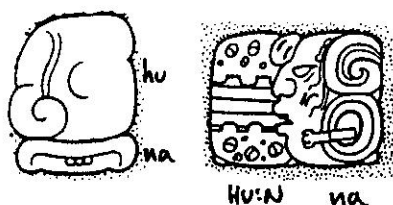
bu-la, *bu'l*, 'bean' (LL: **bu'ul*; CH: *bu'ul*; Chortí: *bu'r*; YUC: *bu'ul* [borrowed word])



CH'E:N-na, *ch'e::n*, 'cave, cliff' (CM: **k'e'n*; YUC: *ch'e'en*)



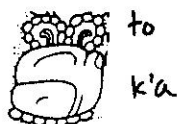
ha-7o-ba, *ha7-o:b*, deictic with plural suffix (see YUC: *-o7ob'*, perhaps a diffused LL word)



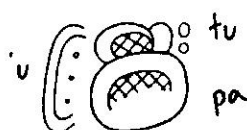
hu-na, *hu:n*, 'book' (CM: **hu'η*; YUC: *ju'un*; Mam: *u'j*; CH: *jun*)



ke-le-ma, *kele:m*, 'youth' (WM: **kele:m*; YUC: *táankelem*; MO: *kele:m* 'gallo,' *kere:m* 'muchacho')



to-k'a, *tò:k'*, 'flint' (LL: **to:k'*; CH: *toc'*; CHR: *tok'* 'a chipping from flint')

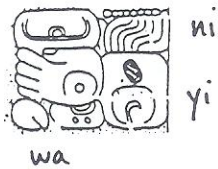


tu-pa, *tu:p*, 'earspool' (YUC: *tuup* [Robert Blair])



u-to-ma, *ut-o:m*, 'will happen'

Late Harmonic Spellings



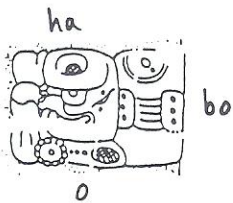
9.15.15.12.16 -wa-ni-yi, -wan-iy, POSITIONAL

Copan Temple 11, East Doorway,
North Panel:C3



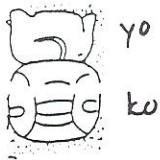
9.16.12.5.17 -AT-ta, at, 'penis'/God name

Copan Temple 11, North Doorway,
East Panel:C4



9.17.0.0.16 ha-ʔo-bo, haʔ-ob, deictic with plural
suffix?

Copan Temple 11, West Door,
South Panel: A4



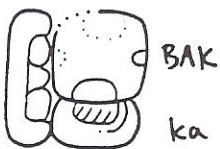
9.17.2.11.16 yo-ko, y-ok, 'foot'

Copan Temple 11, East Doorway,
South Panel:A2



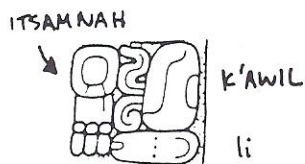
9.18.8.3.9 MUWAN-na, muwan, month name

Caracol BM. 3:D3



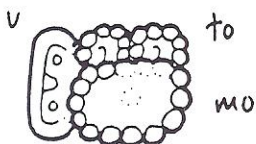
9.18.10.0.0 ba-ka, bak, 'captive'

Caracol Alt. 23:C3



9.18.10.0.0 K'AWIL- k'awil, deity name

Naranjo St. 8:B6



10.0.0.0.0 u-to-mo, ut-om, 'it will have happened'

Caracol Alt. 13:W3

The Ergative Pronouns

'u -
"his, hers, its"



among other signs...

3rd
person

'a -
"your"



2nd
person

'in - ni -
"my"



1st person

Ergative pronouns serve to :

- 1) mark possession (ex. 'u - top , "his/her earplug")
- 2) mark subjects of transitive verbs

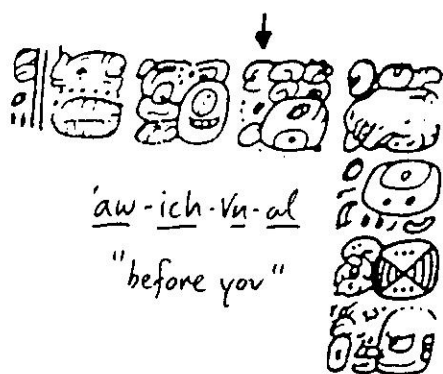
First- and second-person pronouns (1)



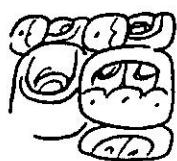
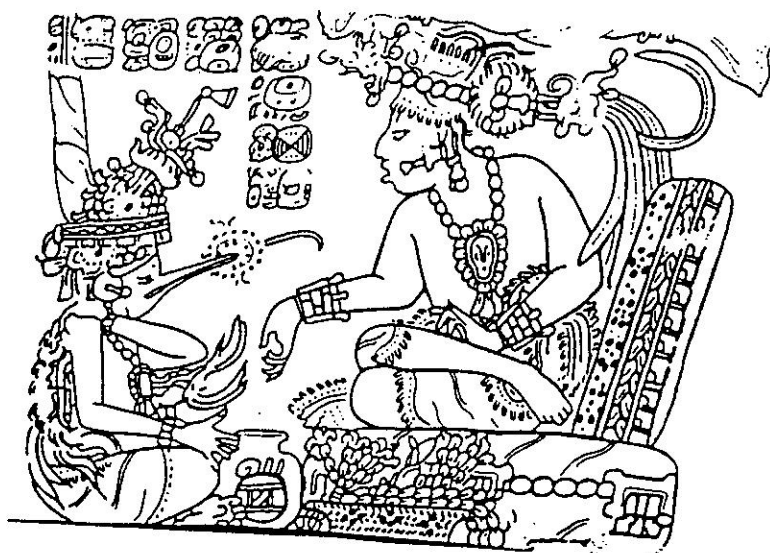
ni-



'a-

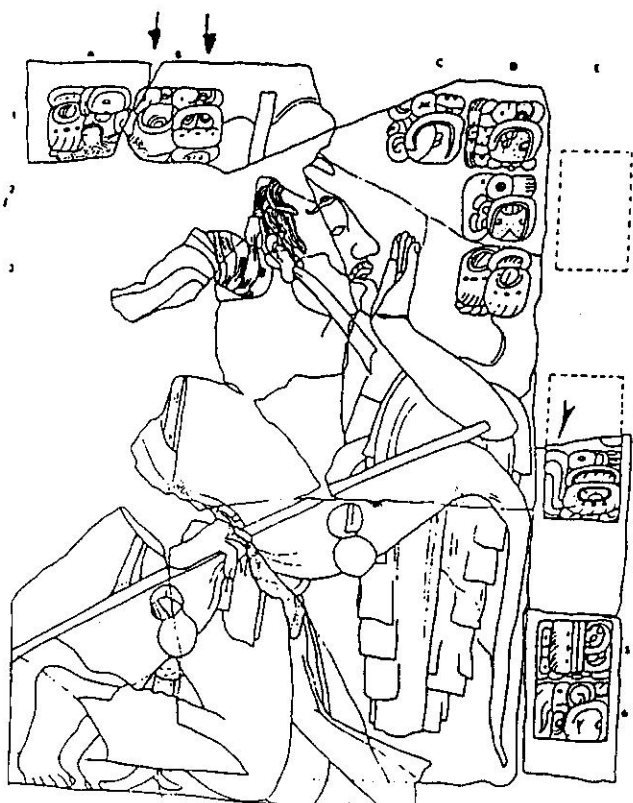


TIKAL:
Burial
196



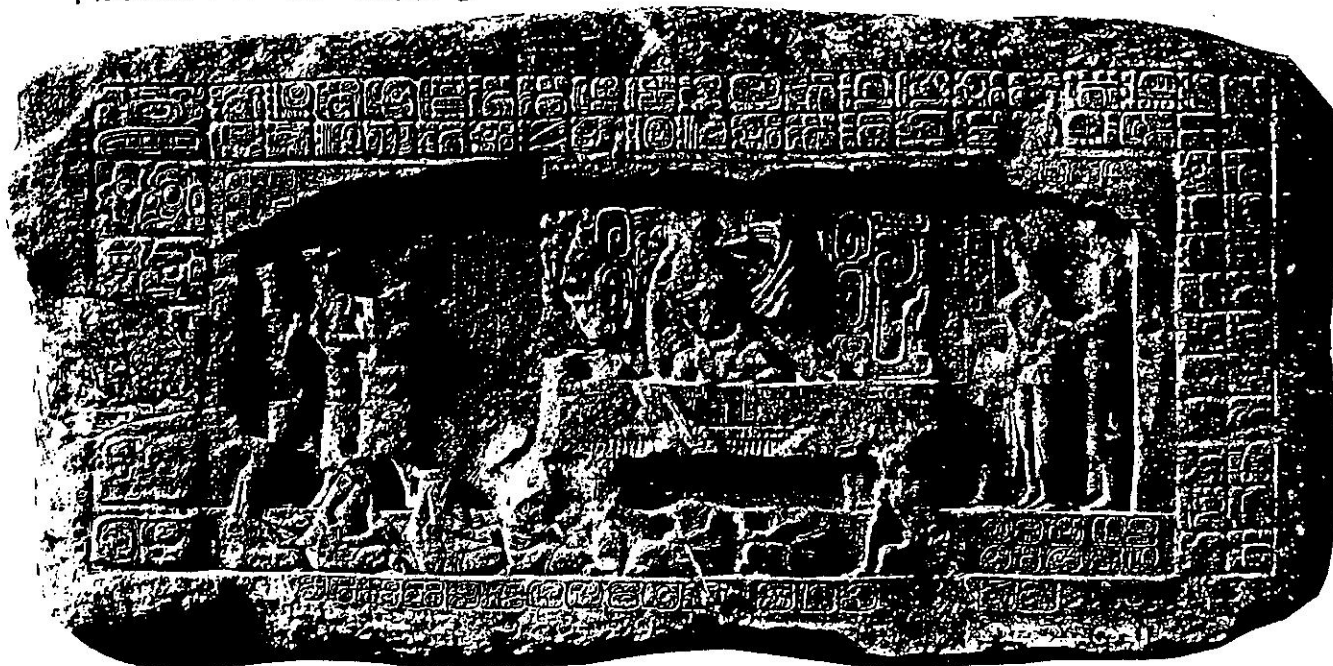
'a-ch'ab' 'a(y)-ak'ab'

PALENQUE:
Tablet of the
Orator

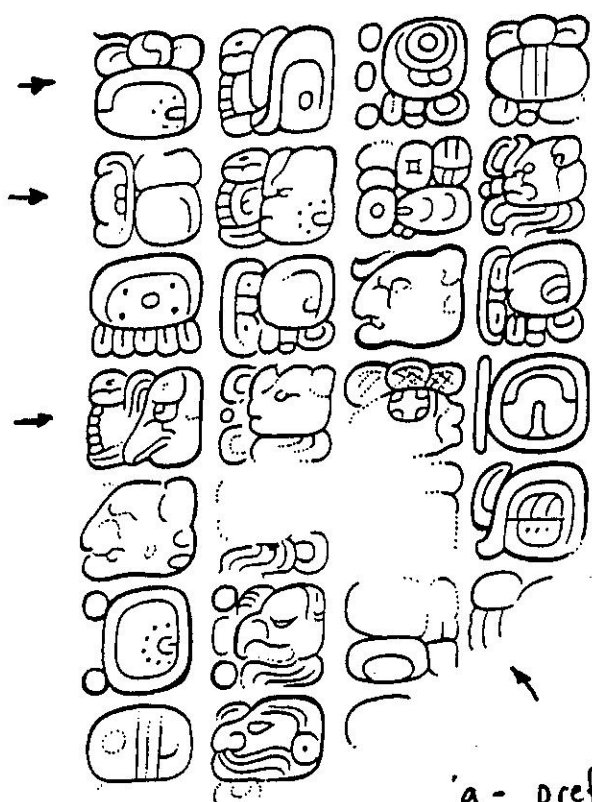


First- and second-person pronouns (2)

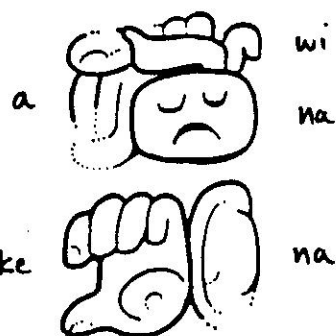
PIEDRAS NEGRAS : Panel 3



Incised text:



'a - prefixes



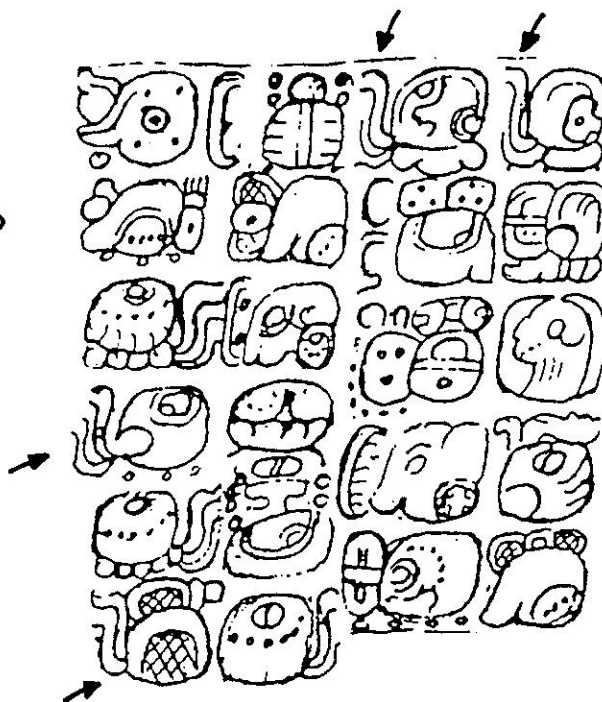
'a - winak - en
 "I am your servant"

First- and second-person pronouns (3)



TIKAL: Mundo Perdido vessel

QUOTATION
OF
SEATED LORD



ya-la-hi-ya



K 1398

Photograph by Justin Kerr

Stative Sentences & the Absolutive Pronouns

Structure: (ERGATIVE PRONOUN) + Stem + ABSOLUTIVE

- Ex. Ch'ol *winik-ø*, "He is a man" (Noun + 3rd pers. absolutive)
 Ch'ol *winik-on*, "I am a man" (Noun + 1st pers. absolutive)
 Ch'olti' *'uts-et*, "You are good" (Adj. + 2nd pers. absolutive)



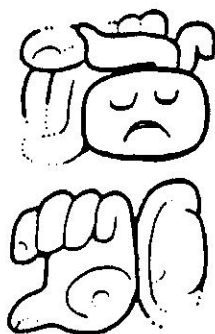
ba-ki *ba:k*-ø "it is a bone" ~ "he is a captive"



'u-ba-ki *'u-ba:k*-ø "it is his/her bone" ~ "he is his/her captive"



k'uhul-ixik-ki *k'uhul ixik*-ø "she is a holy woman"



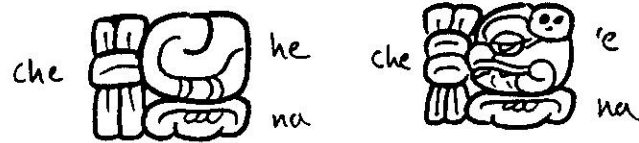
PNG: Panel 3

a-wi-na ke-na *'a-winak-en* "I am your servant" (?)

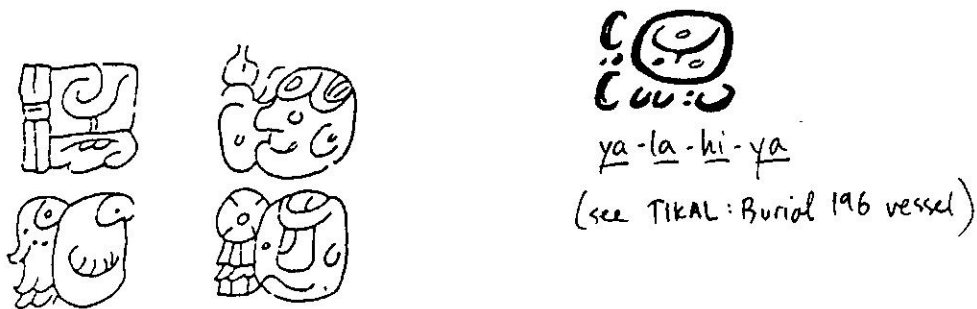
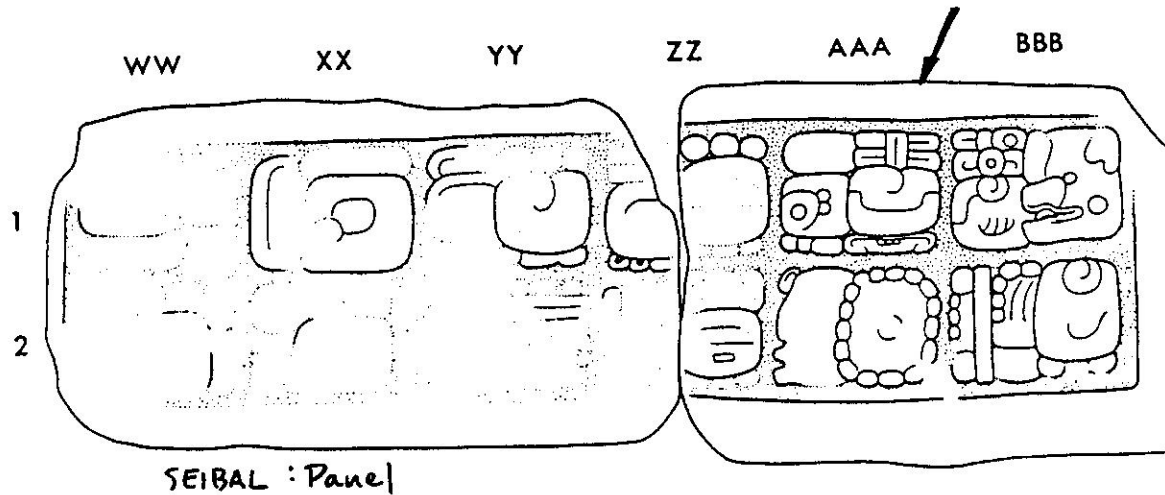
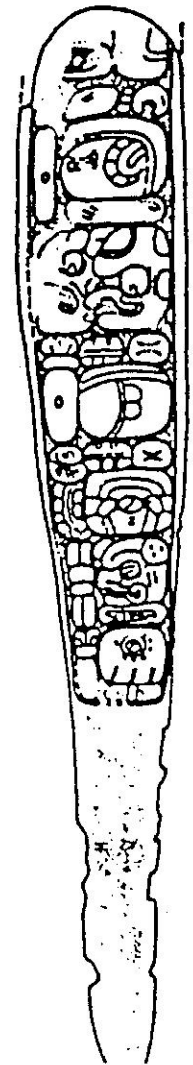
proto Ch'olan ABSOLUTIVE pronouns:

	sing	phr.
1 st	*- <u>en</u>	*- <u>on</u>
2 nd	*- <u>et</u>	*- <u>ox</u>
3 rd	*-ø	*- <u>ob'</u>

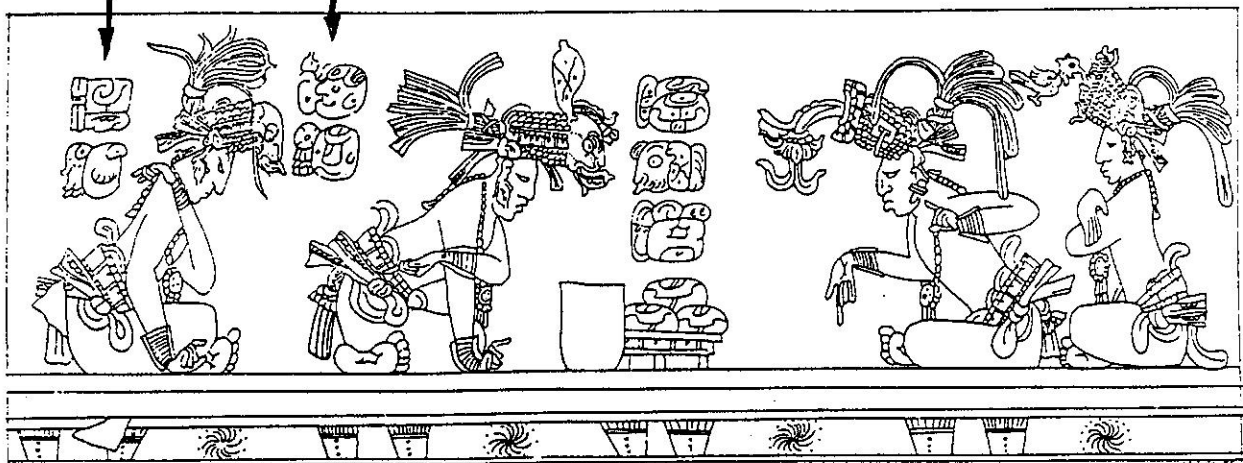
The quotative particle *che'-en*, "so he/she/it says"



TIKAL : MT



Vessel in American Museum of Natural History, NYC



Demonstrative
Pronoun :



HA'-o-ba

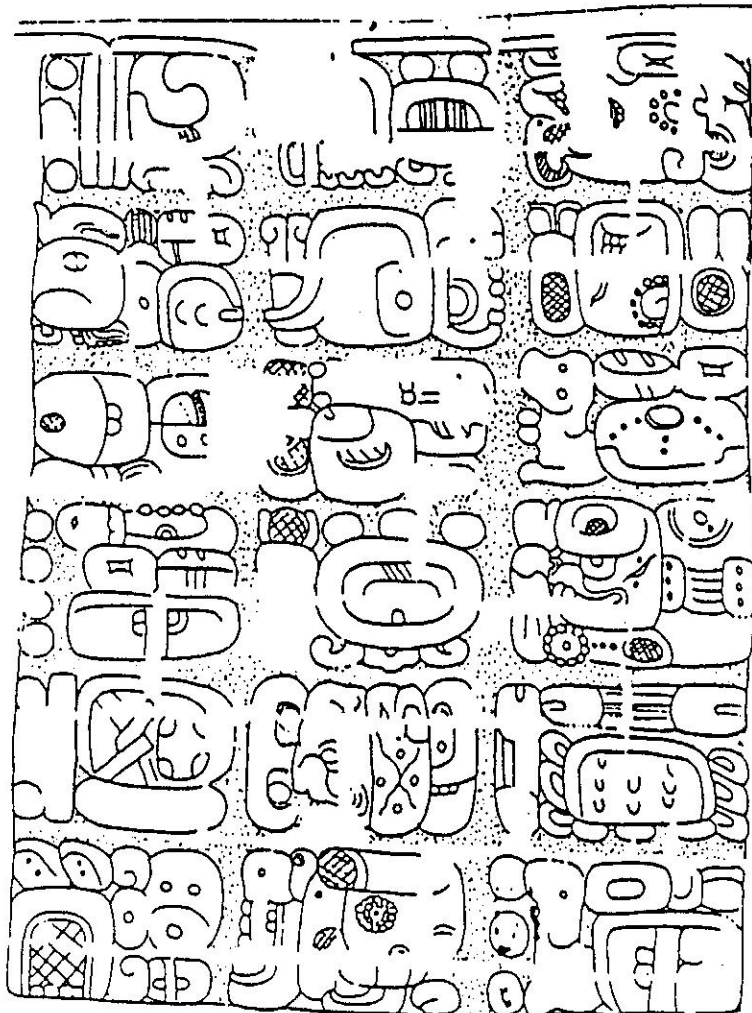
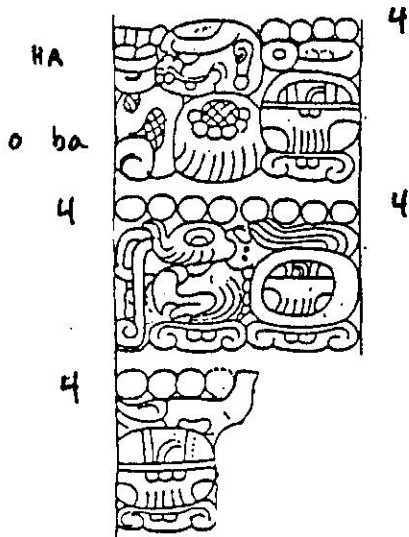
ha'-o:b "they"



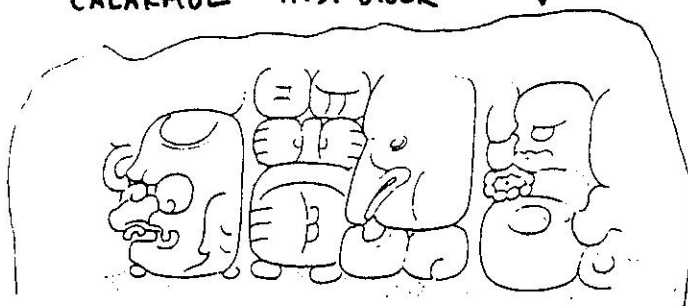
HA'-i

(singular form)

COPAN Stela A



CALAKMUL H.S. block

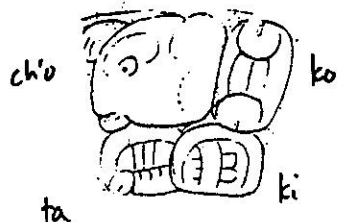


The -ta:k plural suffix

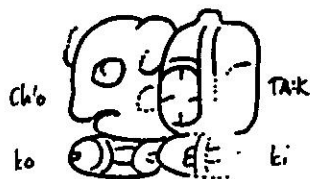
Spelled -ta-ki (Lacadena and García Campillo) or -TA:K-(ki) (Stuart)



OAKINTOK: Ball Court Sc. 1

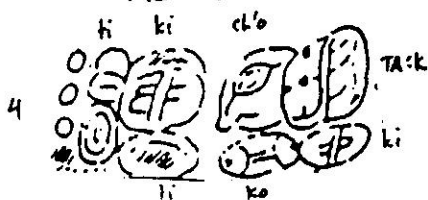


NAR: St. 18

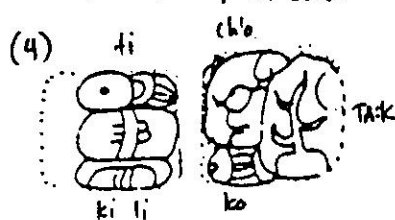


ch'ok - ta:k "the youths"

PAL: T. ~~shell~~ shell

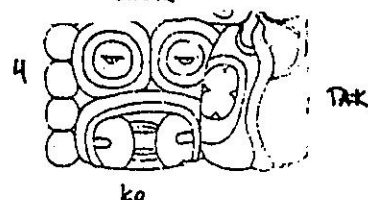


PAL: Tab of Fd. Cross



COP: Stela 6

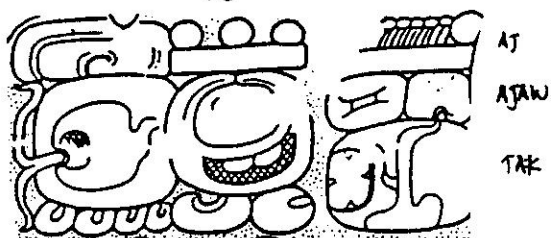
CH'OK



cham tikil ch'ok - ta:k "the four youths"

DPL: Pan. 19

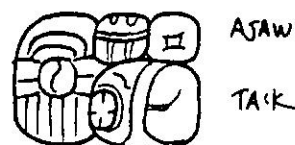
28



'28' - 'ajaw - ta:k "the twenty-eight lords"

MUTUL

DPL: H.S.

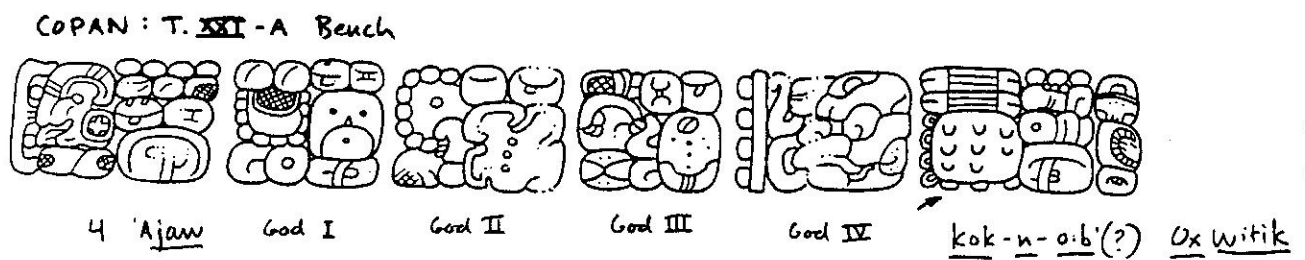
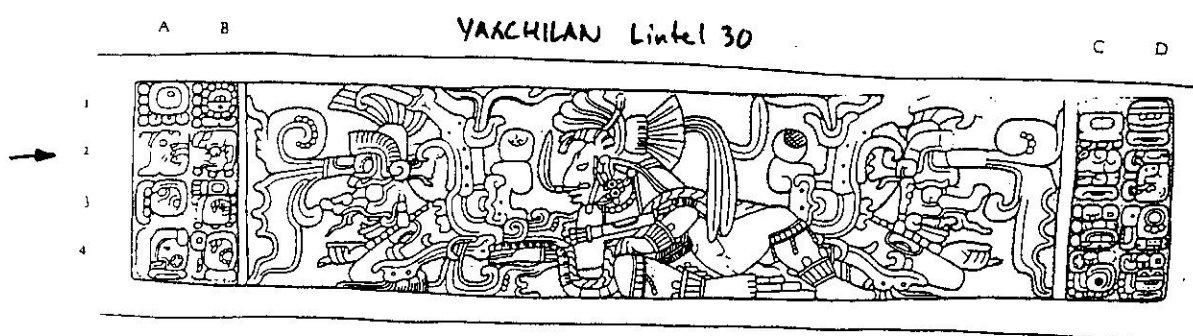
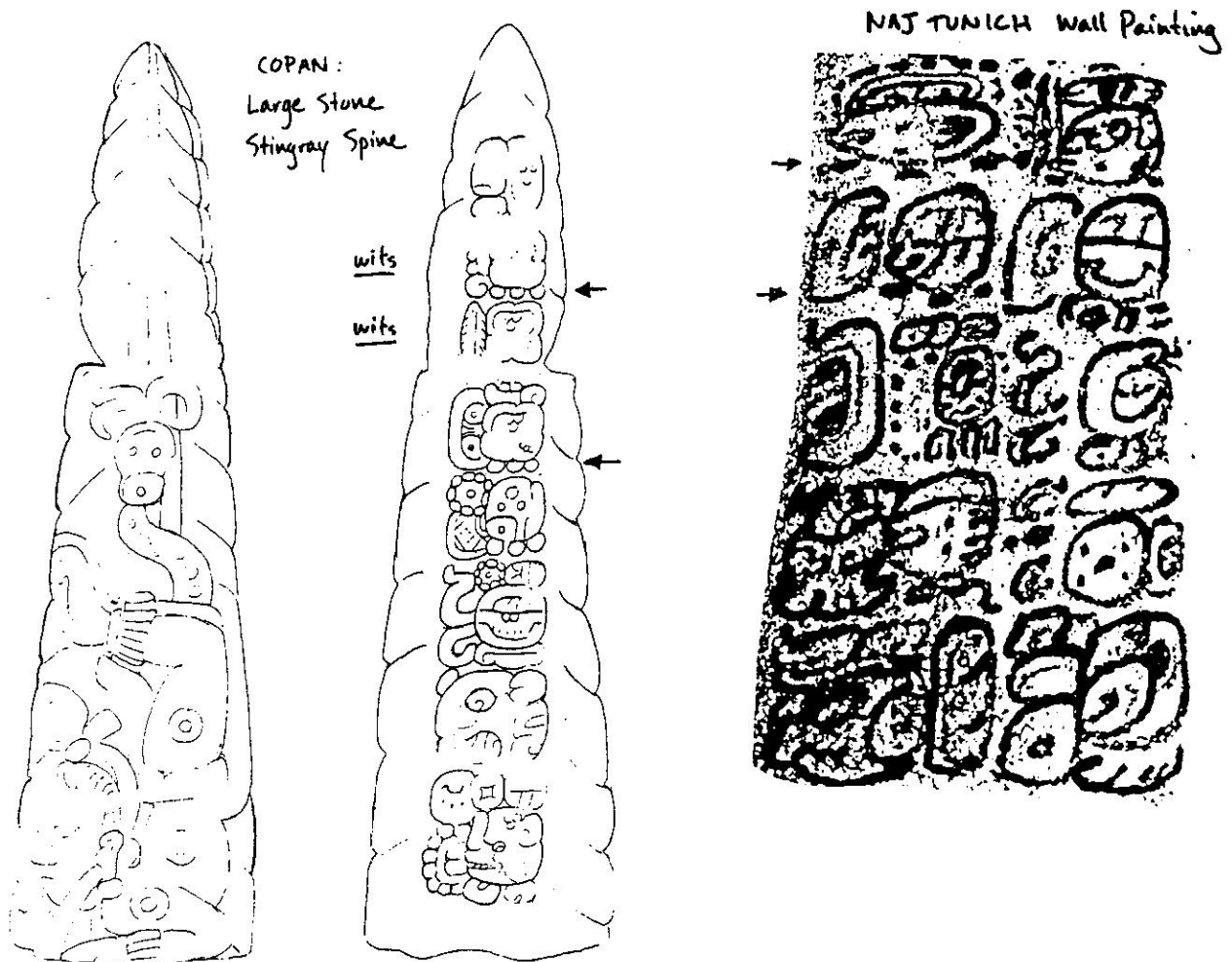


Mutul 'ajaw - ta:k "the Mutul (Til) Lords"

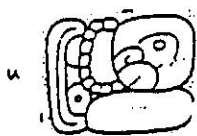
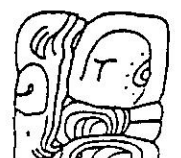
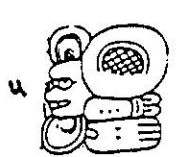
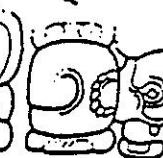
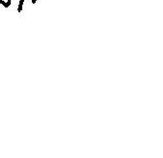


ch'ahom - ta:k

Glyphs for the plural ending -o:b' ?



The -il suffix on possessed nouns

		UNPOSSESSABLE UNMARKED	-AJ	-VL	INALIENABLE
	KUH -IL	CM: *ŋah Cholt: *	*šajab *ru-šajab footwear	*q'ab-aj *ru-q'ab hand nu-bil in-mi father	kik' *ru-kik'-el blood chich u-chich-el
	TS'AK BU -IL	Chort: k'in sun	chitam u-chitam pig	nar-bir u-nar corn	ch'ich' u-ch'ich'-el blood u-syute' tree bark
	ZAK? IK' -IL	Chol:	nac'-el i-nac' stomach	ch'ich' i-ch'ich'-el i-ch'ich' blood	
	KU TH -IL	Tojol: nolob' egg	nah s-nah house	ok-al y-ok leg	s-bah himself
	PA SI LI	Tzend:	cop s-cop word	cahb-al s-cahb hand Itbahil qu-itba forehead (frente, delante)	chich x-chich-el blood z-togh-ol price
	OTOT fi	Mam: witz	šjab t-šajab sandal	q'ab-aj t-q'ab hand	chik' t-chik'-el blood
	ye be L	Cak: chakych ru-chakach basket	q'ab-aj ru-q'ab hand uq'-ej r-uq' hand	kik' ru-kik'-el blood kik' x-kik'-el blood	r-ruj-ul price ?
	mu- -IL	Kekch: ?	be x-be path	q'ab-aj s-q'ab hand	chik' s-chik'-el blood
	ya NA b	Kanj: witz	be s-be path		s-tojil price

Major verb classes in INCOMPLETE and COMPLETIVE aspect

(1) Root INTRANSITIVES

INCOMPLETE Root-*i* (CVC-ci ~ cv-ci)
 COMPLETIVE Root-*i:y* (CVC-ci-ya ~ cv-ci-ya)



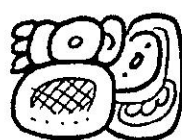
ut-∅



ut-*i:y*

(2) CVhC-*aj* PASSIVES

INCOMPLETE CVhC-*aj*-∅ (CVC-AJ ~ cv-ca-ja)
 COMPLETIVE CVhC-(*a*)*j*-*i:y* (CVC-hi-ya ~ cv₁-cv₁-hi-ya)



ts'ap-*aj*-∅



ts'ap(a)*j*-*i:y*



chuk-*aj*-∅



chuk-(*a*)*j*-*i:y*

(3) -Vy INTRANSITIVES (MEDIO-PASSIVES?)

INCOMPLETE Root-Vy-*i* (CVC-yi ~ cv₁-cv₁-yi)
 COMPLETIVE Root-Vy-*i:y* (CVC-yi-ya ~ cv₁-cv₁-yi-ya)



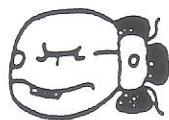
k'a'-*ay*-∅



k'a'-*ay*-*i:y*

Is There a Single Argument Predicate Marker in Classic Mayan?

CHAM-mi



CHAM-mi-ya

ho-mo-yi



hu-b'u-yi



HUL-li



hu-li-ya

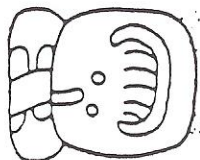
'OCH-BIH



'OCH-chi



ta-li



v-ti

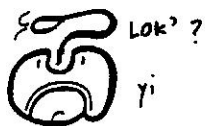


v-ti-ya

Selection of Root-Vy INTRANSITIVES (MEDIO-PASSIVES?)

INCOMPLETEIVE Root + Vy + ø (CVC-yi ~ cv₁-cv₁-yi)
 COMPLETIVE Root + Vy + i:y (CVC-yi-ya ~ cv₁-cv₁-yi-ya)

lok'-oy-i "it goes out"
 ?



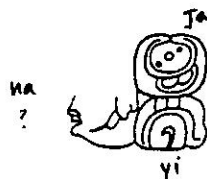
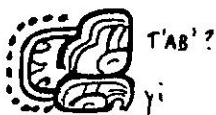
koh-oy-i "it goes down" ?

pul-uy-i "it hums"



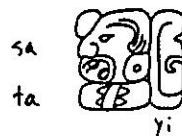
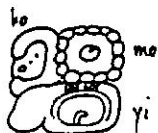
k'a'-ay-i "it terminates"

t'ab'-ay-i "it goes up"
 ?



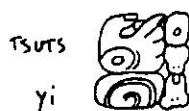
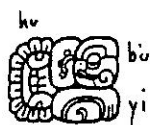
naj-ay-i "it fills-up" ?

hom-oy-i ?



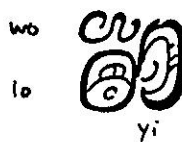
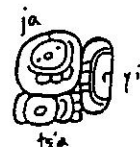
sat-ay-i "it loses"

hub'-uy-i "it falls"



tsuts-uy-i "it ends"

jats'-ay-i "it strikes"



wol-uy-i "it wraps up" ??

-VI, -[h]-...agh, -[h]?-...agh, -agh-tez or -an

Namal: lejos, cosa fea, deshonesto.

nam-aghon: n. ir lejos

Namaghon: tener verguenza; qnam-agh-tez

Tonagh, n. caer algo de arriba.

Tonol, caída así.

Tonan, act., dejar.

Sabagh cotan: n. tener prisa;

gsabaghtez, act.

Sabagh : n. soliviar lo pesado;

qsabubtez, act.

Sabal, gh- diligente; ghsabalotann

-VI, -V₁y-(on), -an

op Tzubul, monton.

Tzubuyon, amontonarse; qtzuban, act

Chotoyon, sentarse en cuclillas;

qchotan, act.

Chotol, así sentado.

Chubuyon, asentarse; qchuban,

Chubul, asentado.

Catayon, atravezarse, n. ghcatan,

Catal, atravesado. act.

Tzacay, estar cabal; qtzacubtes. n.

Tzacayib, aquello con q se hace cabal.

Tzacal, cabal.

Nac-ay-on: n. sentarse, habitar; q-nacan

Nacal: sentado

Nacay cotan: quietarse el corazón

Nacal yotan: quieto.

Bucuyon: guntarse; qbucan, act.

Bucul: guntar cosa

Ghibiyon: n. colgar; qghiban, act.

Ghibil: colgado.

Ghibtaghib: colgadero.

Ghocoyon: n. colgar; ghocan. op confiar. op.

Ghocol: colgado.

Ghoctaghib: aquello en q confía.

Ghocol: confiado.

Xoyan: act. acostar a otro; xoyoyon,

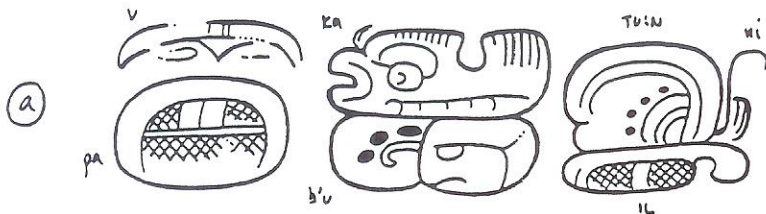
neu. xoyolaghiban, qdo muchos.

Xoyol: acostado de lado.

Xupuyon: echarse; qxupan.

THE -b'u CAUSATIVE ON POSITIONAL VERBS

COL: KANSAS City Early Classic lintel



'u-pak-b'u tu:n-il
"its put-face-down stone"

pak "face down,
doubled over"

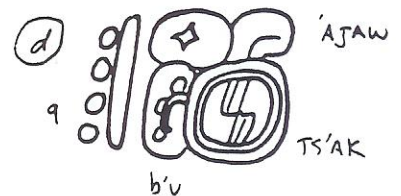


COL: Washington, D.C.
Dumbarton Oaks

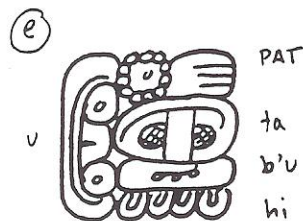
TIK area plate:



'u-#-ts'ak-b'u-il
"the 22nd put in order"



NB: ts'ak positional root in Chontal
for "stacked"

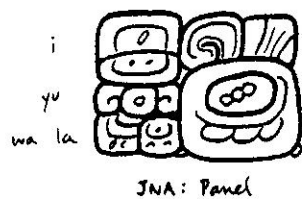


'u-pat-b'u-hi
"he makes it formed..."



Aspect-marking prefixes

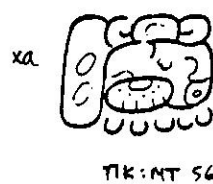
- (1) *iyuwal-* PROGRESSIVE



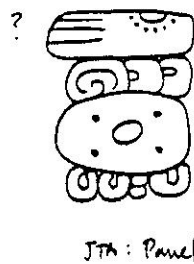
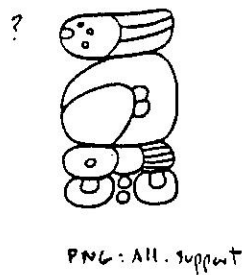
- (2) *wa-* a PROGRESSIVE aspect marker on TRANSITIVE verbs?



- (3) *xa-* a FUTURE aspect marker? Or "again"?



- (4) "Wing" with COMPLETIVE verbs



Day interval expressions with -ø (INCOMPLETIVE) and -i:y (COMPLETIVE)

Basic structure:

NUMBER + *ih* + ø "(number) days hence" (< Common Mayan -*ej*-ø)

NUMBER + *ih* + *i:y* "(number) days ago" (< Common Mayan -*ej*-*e:r*)

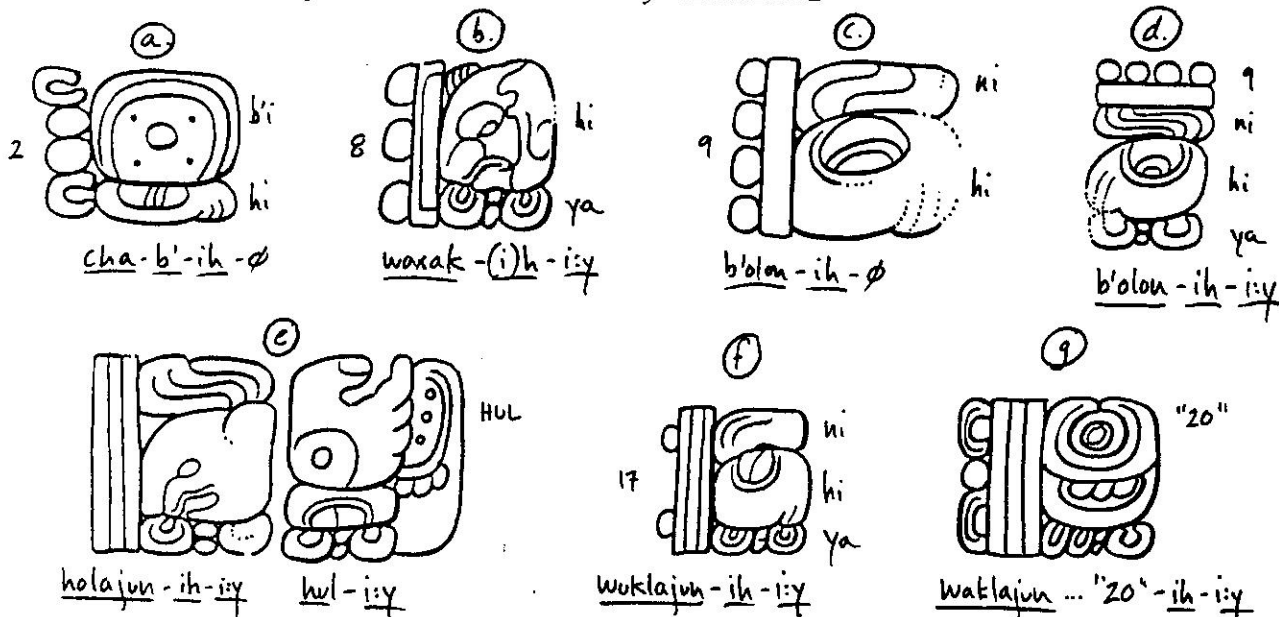
In the inscriptions:

Sign sequence: NUMBER-(*ni*)~(*b'i*)-*hi*-(*ya*)

-*ni*- inserted when number term ends in -*n*

-*b'i*- inserted for *cha-b'*, "two"

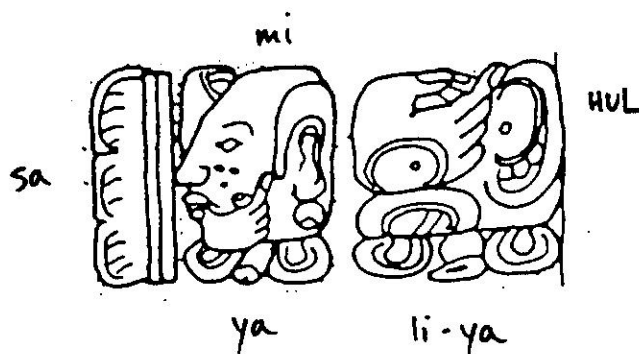
-*ya* follows to write the -*i:y* COMPLETIVE



Days ago:	two	three	four	five	six	seven
Cunén:	<i>kab-j-iir</i>					
Martínez:	<i>cubab-ir</i>	<i>oxib-ir</i>	<i>coh-eh-er</i>	<i>ob-ix-ir</i>	<i>va3-eh-er</i>	<i>vukub-ix-ir</i>
Mam:	<i>kab-j-eeo</i>	<i>oS-<i>ej</i>-ee</i>	<i>k'aj-aj-ee</i>			
Tzendal:		<i>ox-egh-ey</i>	<i>chon-egh-ey</i>			
Tzotzil:	<i>ča'b-h-e</i>	<i>oS-h-e</i>	<i>čon-h-e</i>	<i>vo'-h-e</i>	<i>vak-h-e</i>	
Mochó:	<i>ka'b'-eh-e:</i>	<i>oS-eh-e:</i>	<i>ko:ŋ-eh-e:</i>			
S. Frans:	<i>cab-h-e</i>	<i>ox-h-e</i>	<i>can-h-e</i>	<i>hob-ix-i</i>	<i>uac-h-e</i>	<i>uucb-ix-i</i>

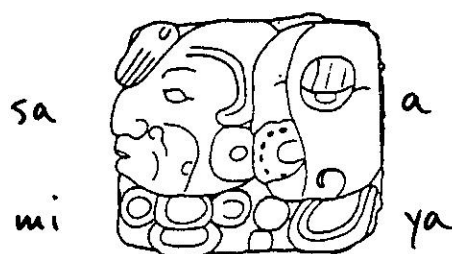
Futur. days:	two	three	four	five	six	seven
Cunén:						
Martínez:	<i>cab-ih</i>	<i>ox-ih</i>	<i>coh-eh</i>	<i>ob-ix</i>	<i>vak-eh</i>	<i>vukub-ix</i>
Mam:	<i>kaa'-jo</i>	<i>oS-j</i>	<i>k'oj</i>			
Tzendal:						
Tzotzil:	<i>ča'-eh</i>	<i>oS-eh</i>	<i>čon-eh</i>	<i>vak-eh</i>		
Mochó:	<i>ka'b'-i:h</i>					

sa'm-i:y, "earlier today"



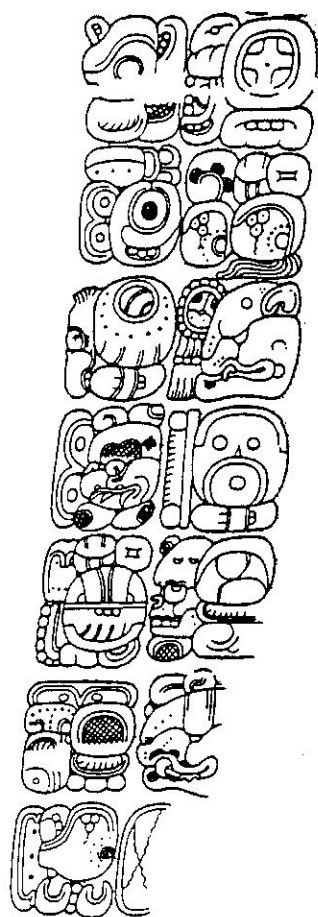
PALENQUE:
Palace Tablet

sam-i:y hul-i:y
"earlier today it arrived..."



PALENQUE:
T. XVIII stucco
(loose glyph)

-ya as Nominalizer of Transitive Verbs



COPAN: St. I

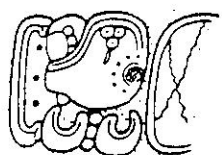


U

KAB'

YA

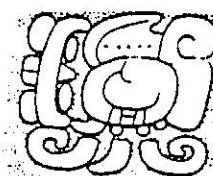
"His
'overseeing'..."
?



U-CHUK-YA

"The capture of..."

Ch'olti'



WE' "eat"



U-we'-ya

"The eating of..."

De los nombres verbales.

Estos se forman de la simplicidad de los veruos, de esta manera: a los veruos que acaban en N, se les quita la N, i se le añade esta particula ya; vg. chohben. amar, chohbia amor; in-cohbeia (l.) in-chohbija taba mi amor para con tigo; tzatzbun ayudar, tzatzbuia lo que sirve de ajudar.

On the Verbal Nouns

The verbal nouns are derived from the stems of the verb, in this way: For those verbs that end in *n*, drop the *n*, and add the suffix *-ya*, e.g. *chohben* 'to love,' *chohb-ya* 'love'; either *in-chohbe-ia* or *in-chohb-ija t-a-b'a* 'my love for you;' *tzatz-bu-n* 'to help,' *tzatz-bu-ya* 'that which is used for helping.'

Ah aoilia 'misericordioso' 'merciful'

muquia 'suffering'

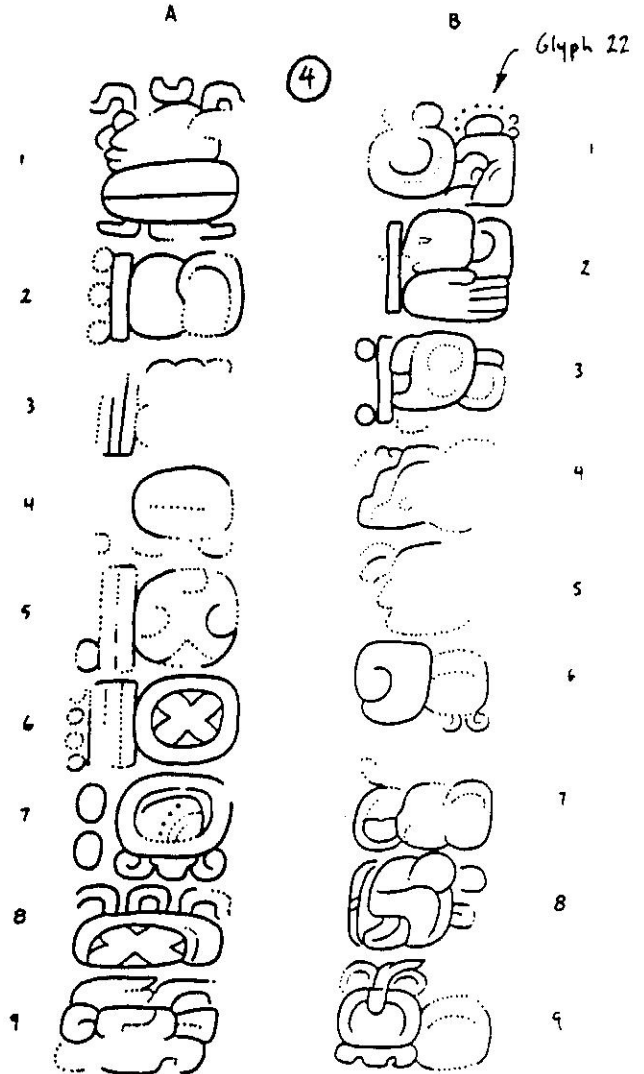
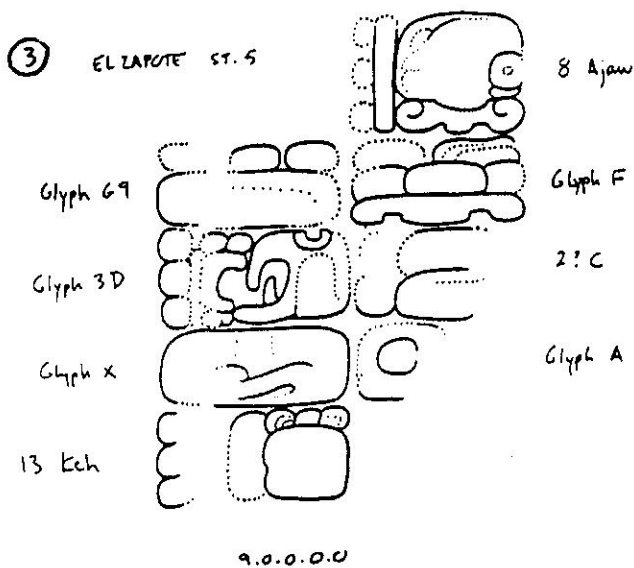
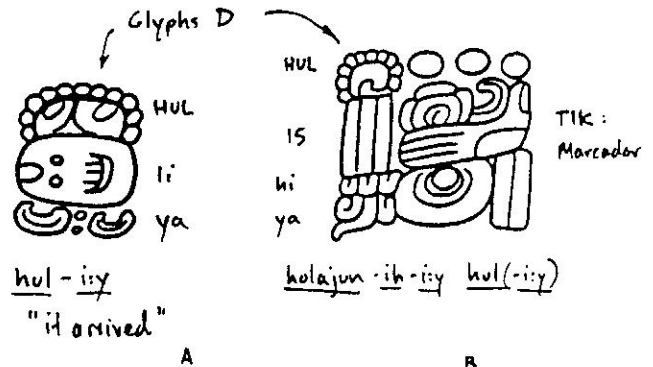
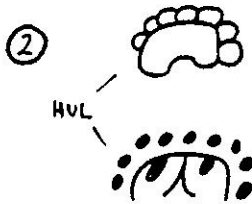
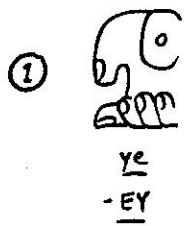
Ah hulua 'archer'

patia 'shaping, forming'

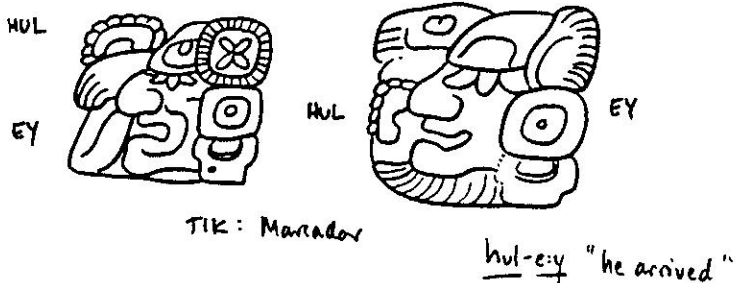
Ah susia 'barber'

II-36 taqia 'order'

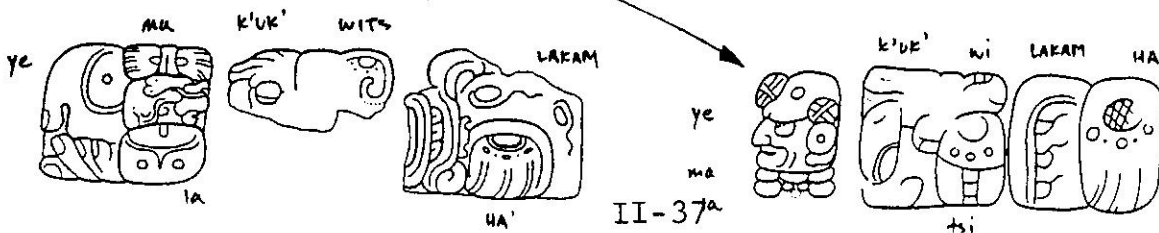
Early uses of the *-ey COMPLETIVE suffix



⑤ A VARIANT OF "ARRIVAL" WITH -EY



⑥ THE ye/-ey HEAD VARIANT



COLLECTIONS: New York Inscribed bone tubes

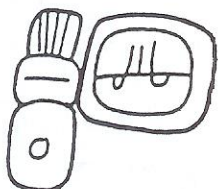
Cholan and Ch'olti' Lexemes



chi

hi

chih, deer



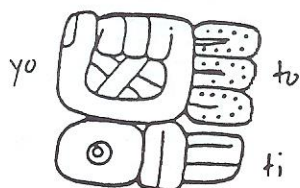
ti

ti'

ti', mouth



logographic TI'

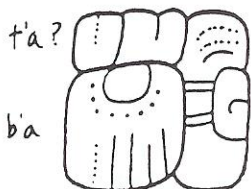


yo

to

ti

yo-to:ti "his, her house"

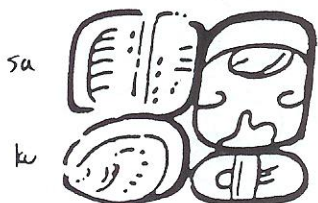


t'a?

ba

yi

t'ab'-ay-i "ascends, goes up"



sa

k

WINIK

ki

sakun winik "elder brother"



AK'

TAJ



a

k'a ta

'ak'ta "dance"

Previous Proposals (PP) *Counter Proposals (CP)*

Phonology

PP: Vowel length was lost by Ch'olan times (Kaufman & Norman 1984).

CP: Vowel length is preserved in the Script and Classic Mayan.

Morphology

PP: *-Laj* is an example of Yukatekan in the script (Bricker 1986).

CP: *-Laj* is Ch'olti'an, coming into the language before *-wan*.

PP: **Wan* goes back to Proto-Ch'olan (Kaufman & Norman 1984).

CP: *Wan* comes in after *-laj* and was not in Common Ch'olan.

Grammatical Constructions (Syntax)

PP: The script had split ergativity.

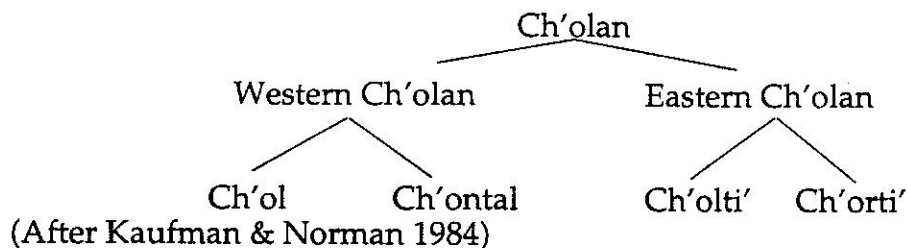
CP: The script had straight ergativity, conserving Common Mayan.

Language

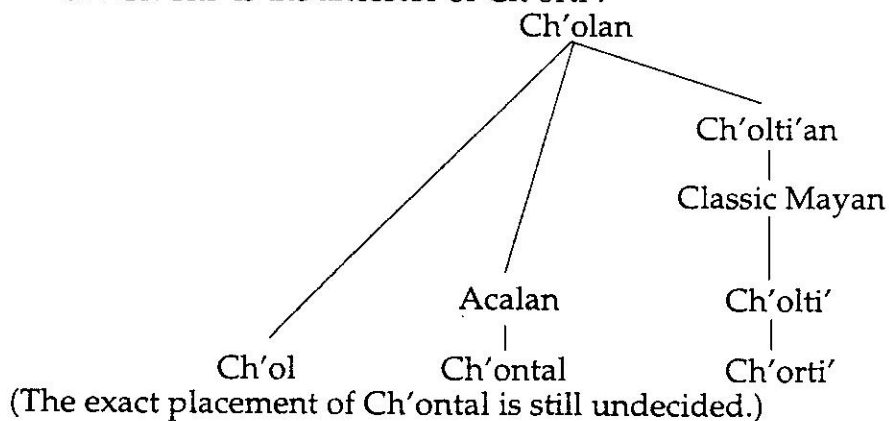
PP: The underlying language of the script is Ch'olan, Yukatekan, Ch'olan + Yukatekan., etc.

CP: The language of the script we call Classic Mayan, and place it in Ch'olti'an subgroup.

PP: Ch'olti' is the ancestral sister of Ch'orti'.



CP: Ch'olti' is the ancestor of Ch'orti'.



Classic Maya Gods

- I. Introduction: Theological Concepts and Interpretive Methods
- II. Identifying Gods
- III. Taxonomy and Character of Major Gods
- IV. Manifesting Gods
- V. Local Gods and the Ancestors
- VI. Conclusions: The Problem of Continuity and Change

General Concepts

- *The Monistic Orientation of Mesoamerican Belief*
animation
vitality and materiality
monism and "multiplism"
- *Morality and the Obligations of Community*
covenants
reciprocity, "substitutes" (k'ex , inter alia) sustenance, and
materialization
"creation" and godly responsibilities
- *Space , Time, and Being among the Gods*
multiple aspects, multiple frames
narrative and action
- *Approaching Classic Belief and Religious Practice*
primacy of contemporary evidence
theology and history
local religion and Maya commonalities
the place of paradox and inconsistency
origins in forces of nature

Handy Terms

Monism "Monism means that the whole of reality ... constitutes one inseparable and indivisible entirety" (Paul Carus) ""Matter, mind, and their phenomena are held to be manifestations or modifications of some one one substance" (Webster's)

"Multiplism" The quality of being more than one, in sets of twos, threes, fours, and beyond.

Covenants Solemn compacts or agreements between two or more parties, with conditions, stipulations, and obligations that require action.

Theology Systematic study of divinity, as brought into an intellectual system.

Term for 'God' (k'uh)



k'UH ~
k'UHUL



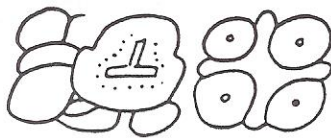
k'UH
(Full form)



k'UH (codex version)

yi-ka-tsi

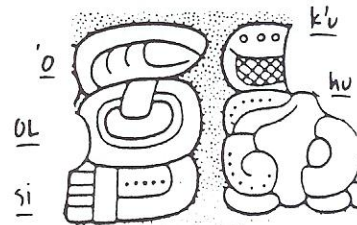
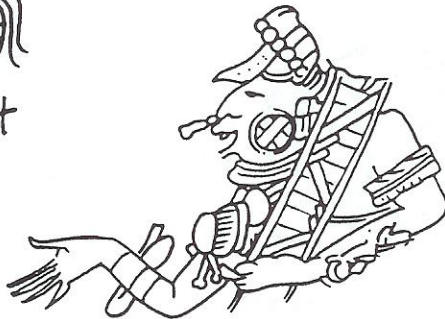
k'u-hu



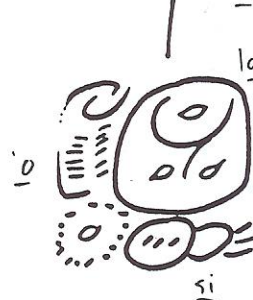
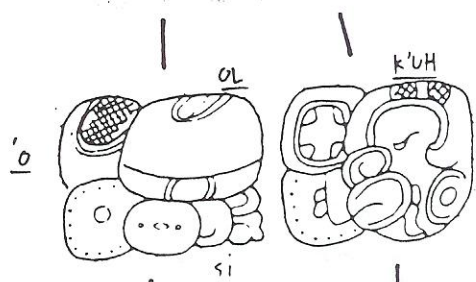
God's name
SAK-? EK'



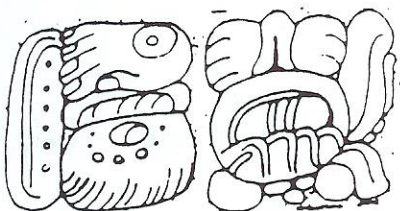
COL: Jade ornament



YAX: Lnt. 47

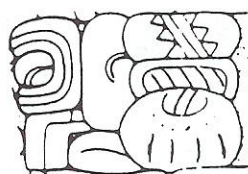


OTHER NOTABLE (UNEXPECTED!) SPELLINGS:

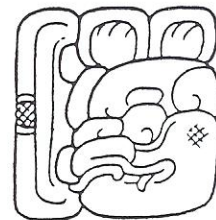


ka-b'a

for kab' "earth"



ka-b'a

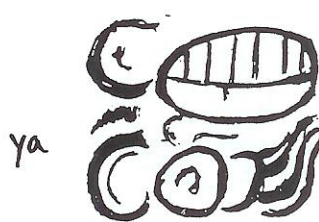


ka

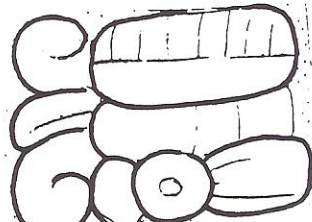
KAN

NOH?

for KAN
"snake"



ya



ya

ti

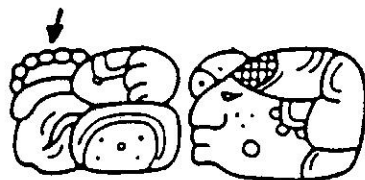
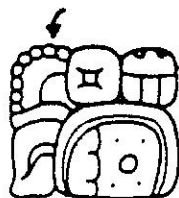
for Y-atot "his/her house" II-41

K'uhul as Adjective

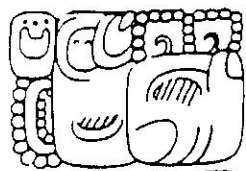


K'UHUL

cha TAN-na wi-WINIK-ki

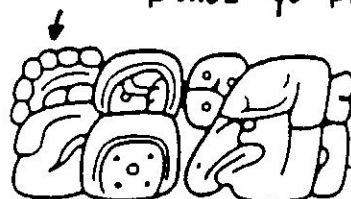


K'UHUL yo-ki-bi AJAW



K'UH-UL to-k'a

K'uhul tok' "Holy Flint"



K'uhul 'Ajaw
"Holy Lord"

A SUBORDINATE TITLE



K'UHUL-WINIK-ki

k'uhul winik

"Holy Man"

ya



HUN

K'UH

(possessed
form, y-)



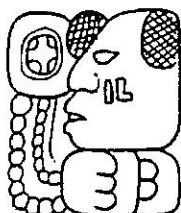
A

K'UH

HUN

na

IXIK



K'UHUL

ki

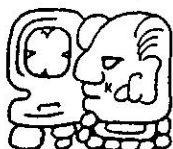
K'UH-UL

IXIK



K'uhul 'ixik "Holy Woman"

cf.

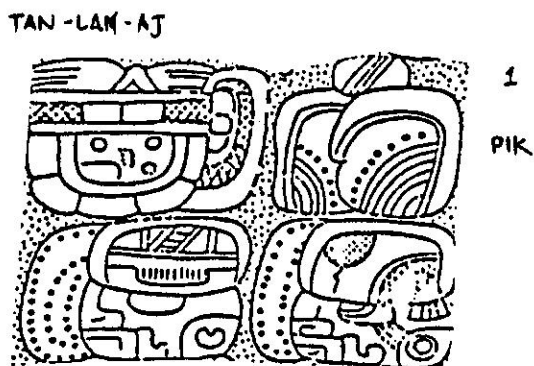
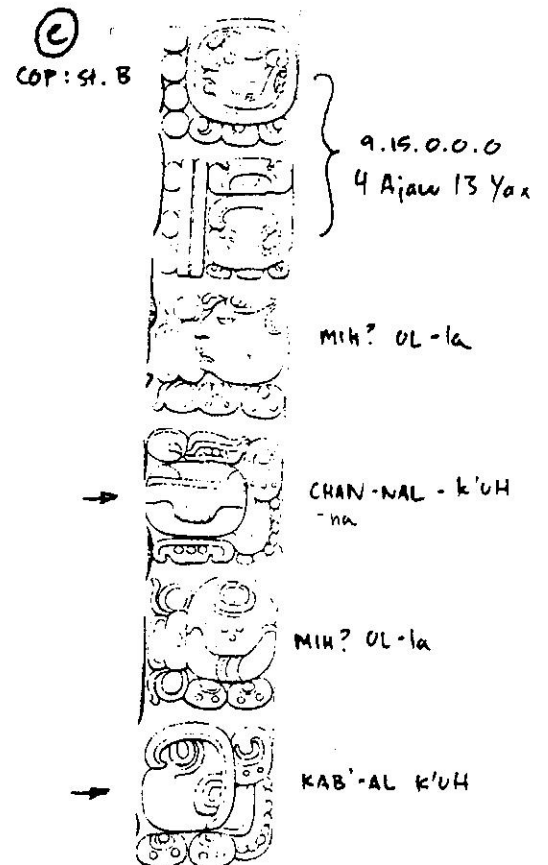
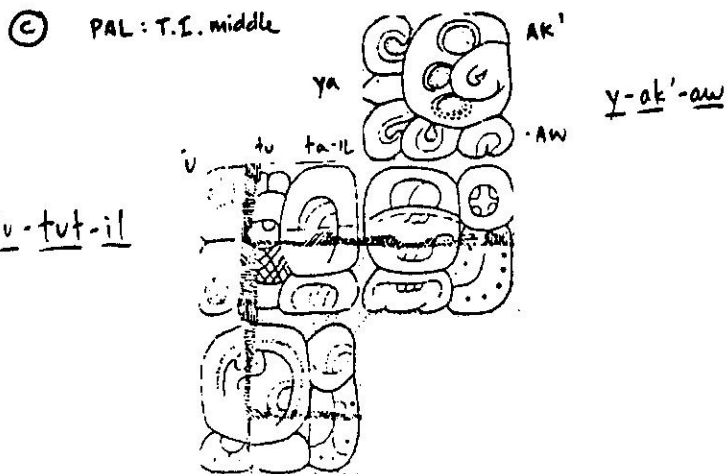
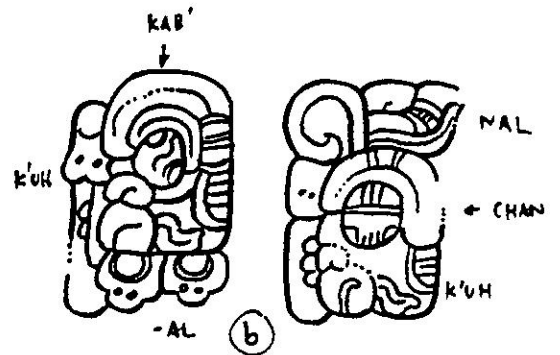
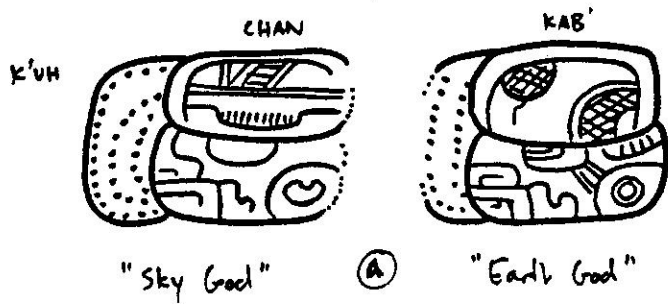


K'UH

II-42

?... IX-K'UH "...Female God"

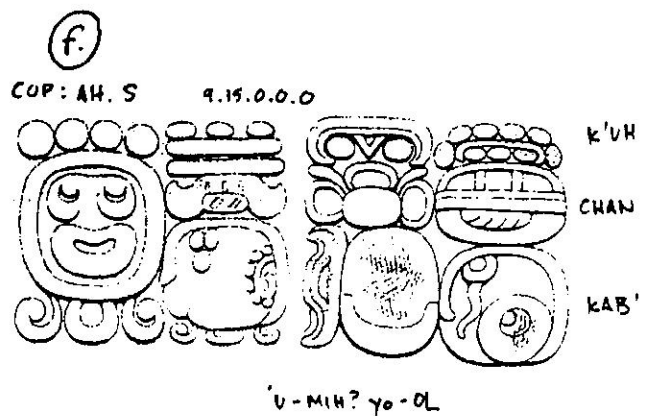
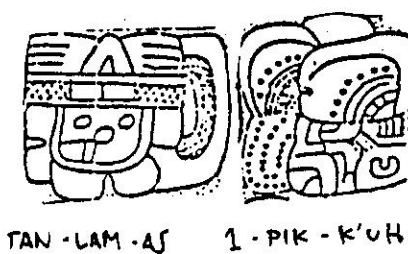
Chan-al K'uh Kab'-al K'uh : Gods of Earth and Sky



d.

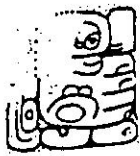
TIK:

St. 31



Gods: Ol-is (?) K'uh and Ik' K'uh

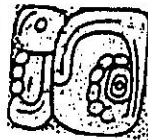
COL: Dumbarton Oaks, Panel



'u-k'al-aw fan



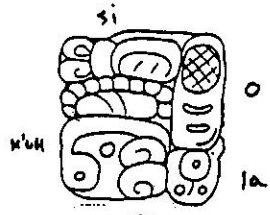
k'ok' ?-aw



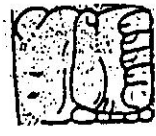
Ahk



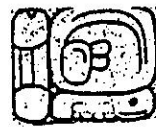
Chok k'uh 'Ajaw



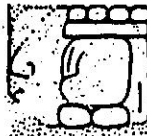
y-ich-m-al



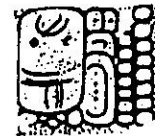
'Ix Tsak-al



ko... ?...



'Ix B'olun Yokte'?



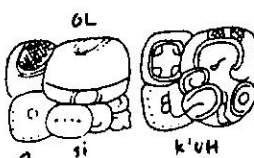
OL-la-si-k'uh



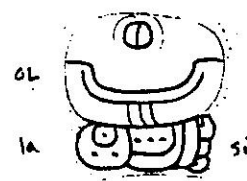
o si



k'uh



PAL: Paloma Tablet

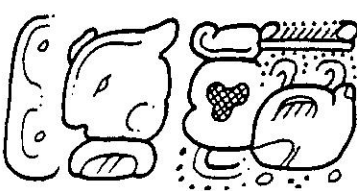
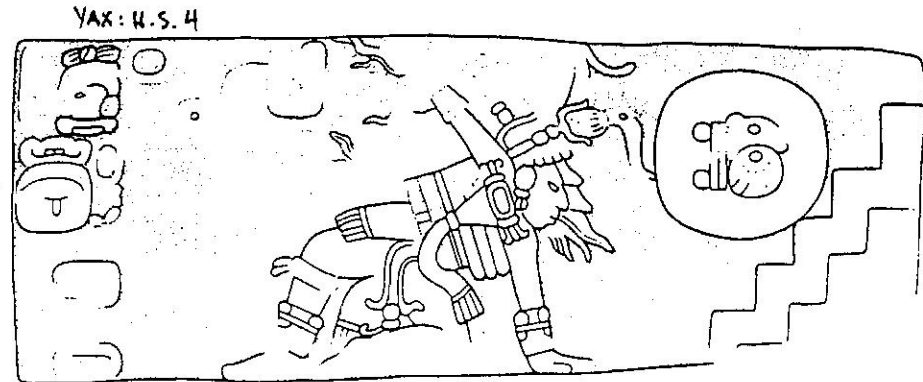


la

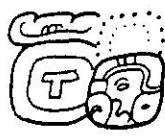
COL: Yale Univ. Art Gallery Shells



Day sign 'Ik'



'IK K'UH



IK' K'UH



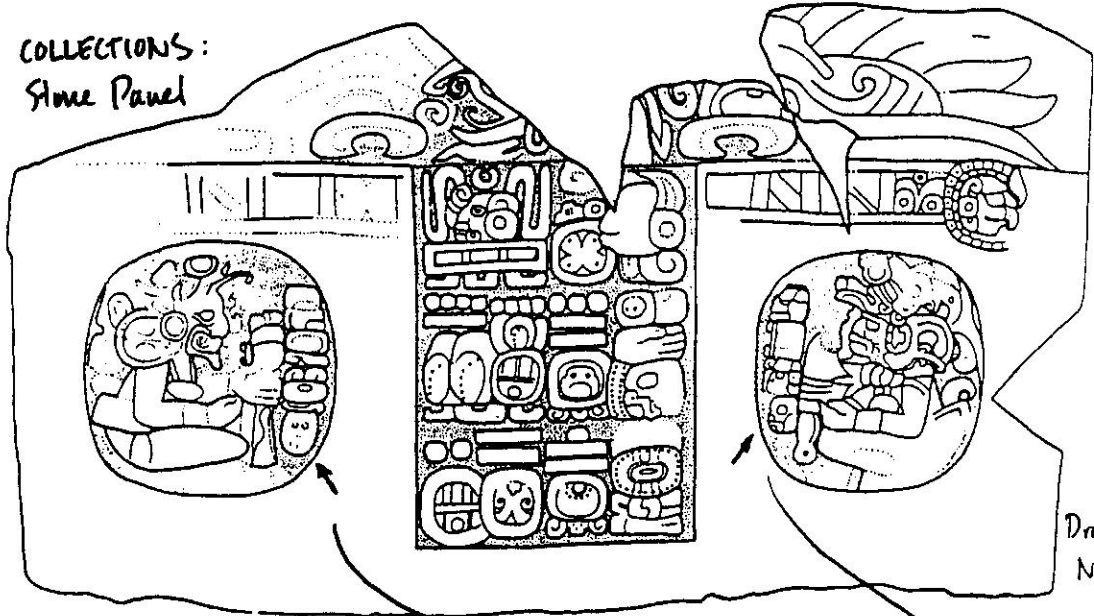
Note Ik' signs



NB: also logographic Ik' (rare)

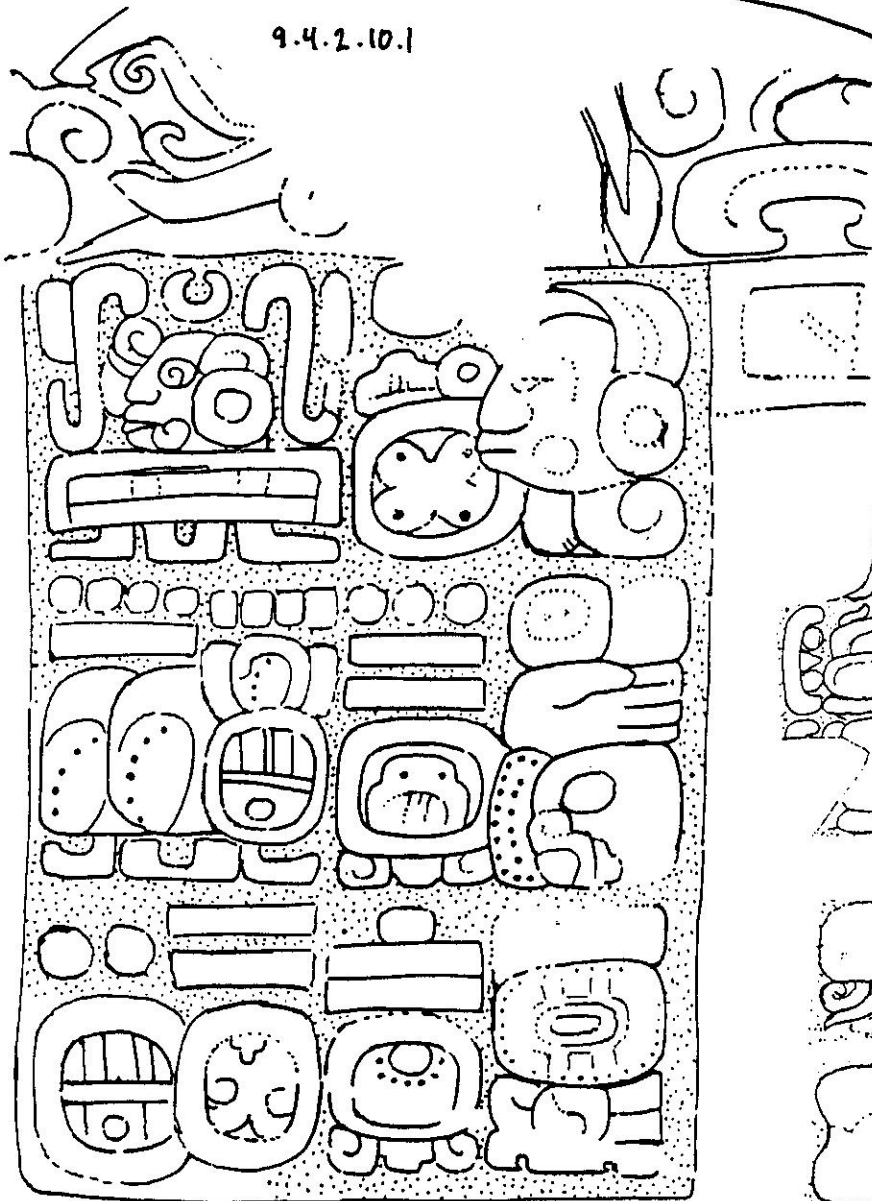
Gods as Embodied in Things

COLLECTIONS:
Stone Panel



Drawing by
Nikolai Grube

9.4.2.10.1

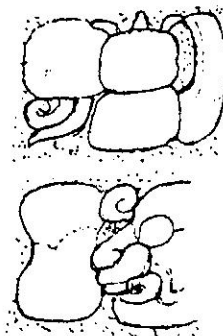
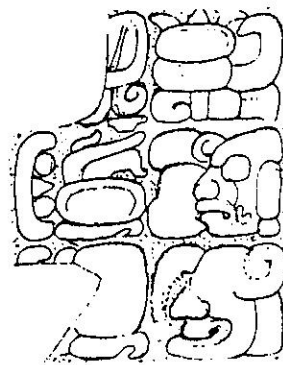
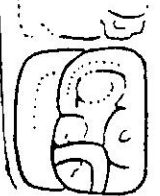
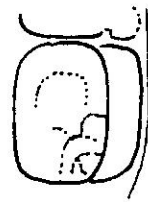


Very preliminary drawing

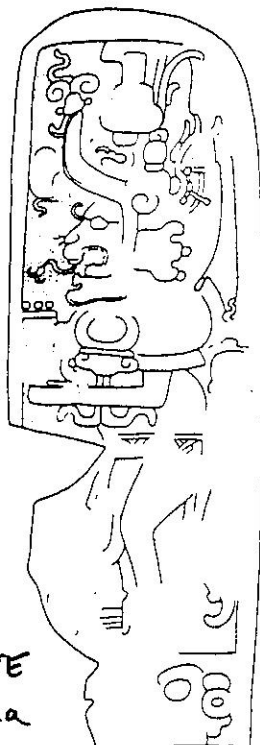
II-45

Left

Right



EL
ZAPOTE
stela



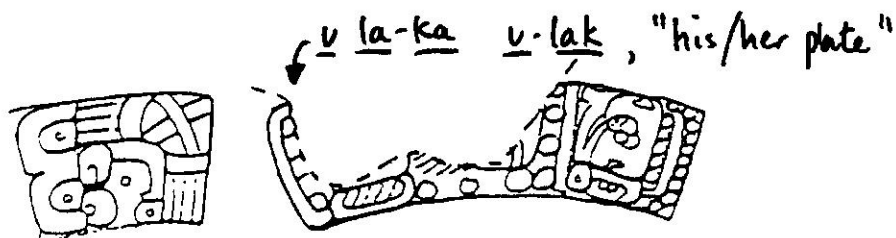
Objects and Buildings Owned by the Gods

CHICHEN
ITZA: Jades



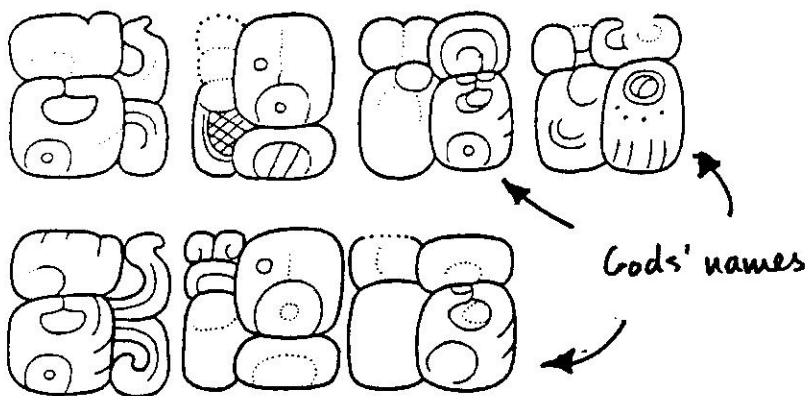
u tu-pa 'o-'OL-si k'UH

tu^u "ear plug, jewel"

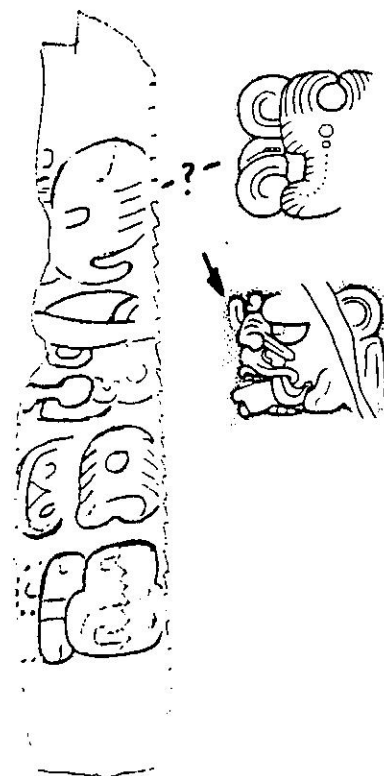


COLLECTIONS: Ceramic plate

COLLECTIONS: Panel (La Mar?)

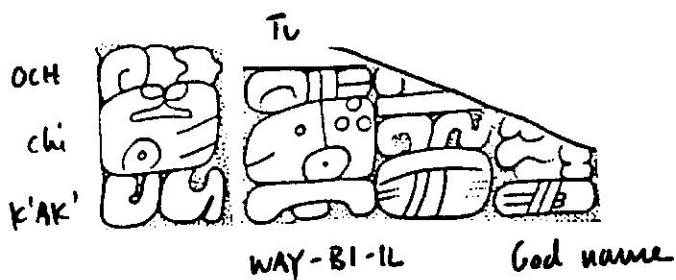


OCH-chi k'AK' TU-WAY-IB-IL



HOLMUL: False
stingray spine

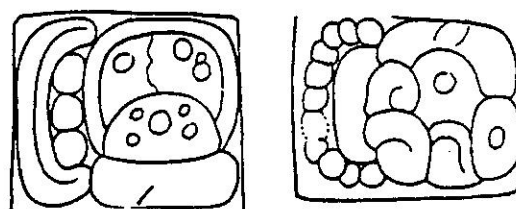
YAXCHILAN: Lnt. 10



WAY-BI-IL

God name

COPAN: Stone house model



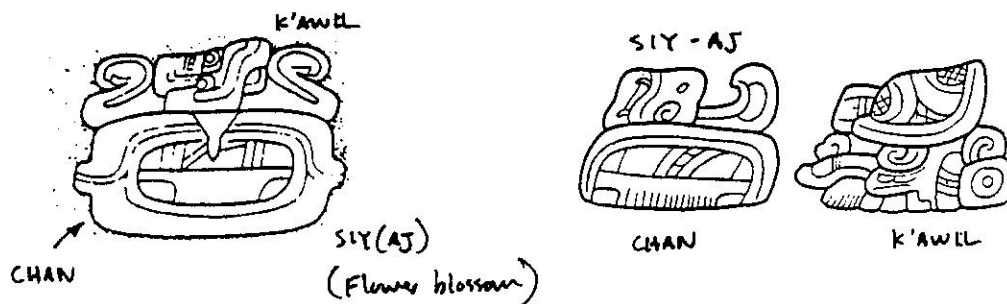
V-WAY-IB-IL

k'UH

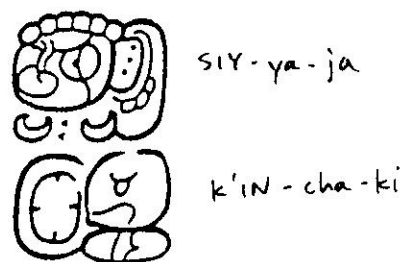
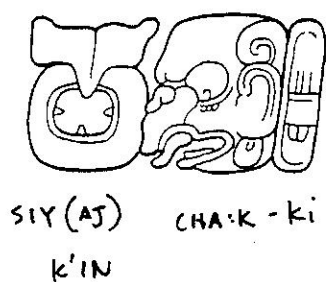
Gods being born



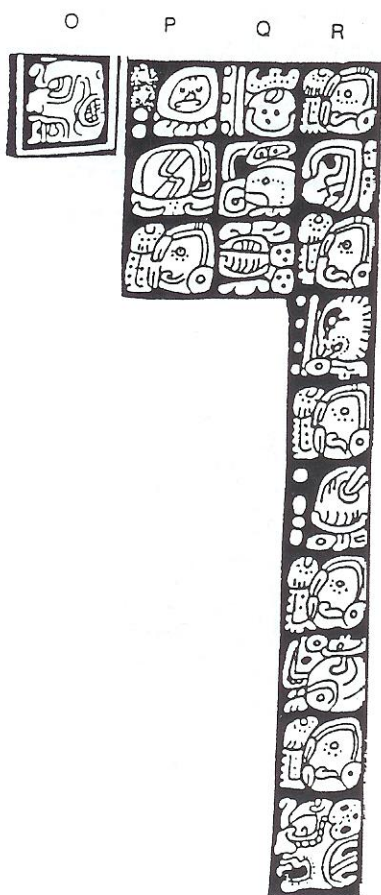
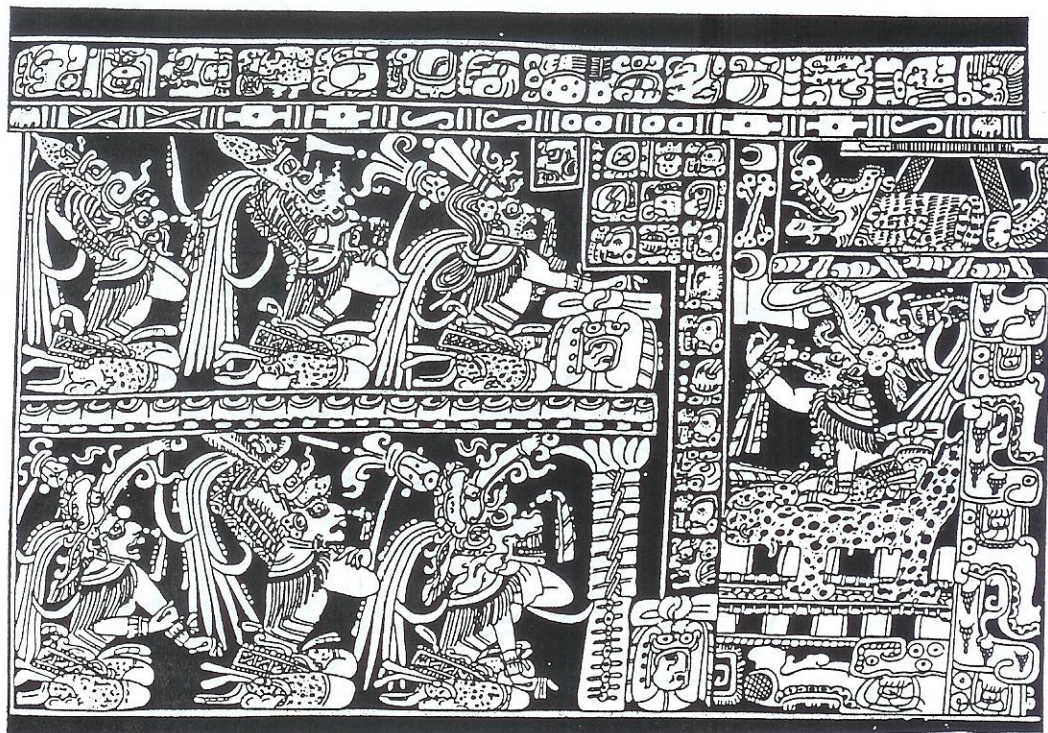
② NAME OF "STORMY SKY" OF TIKAL :



③ A NAME AT MACHAQUILLA AND PIEDRAS NEGRAS



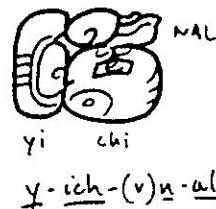
Gods "are filed" on 4 Ajaw 8 Kumk'u



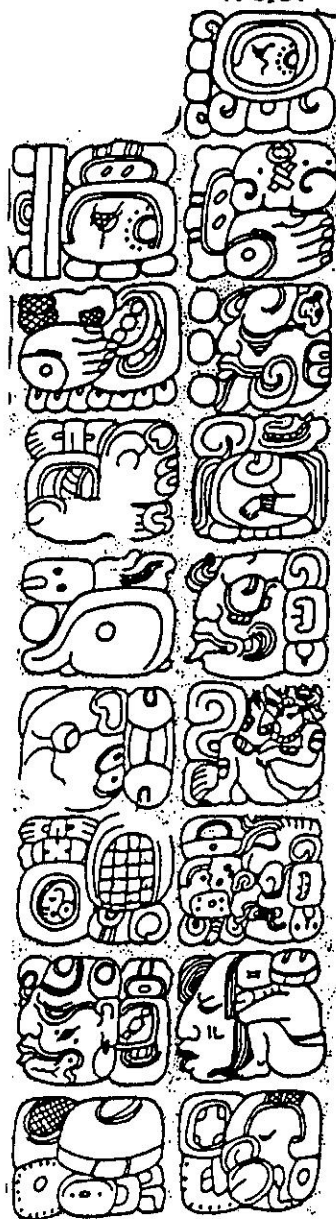
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10



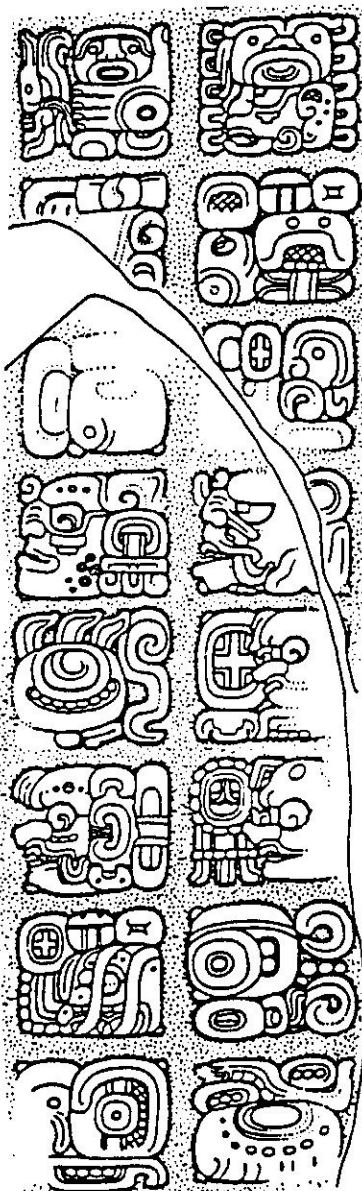
Office-taking & other rites "in the presence" of gods



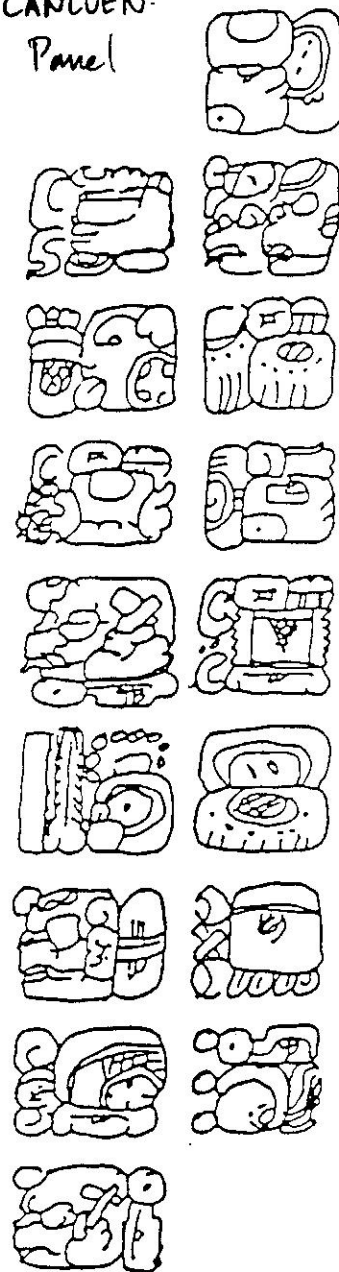
PALENQUE : Palace
Tablet



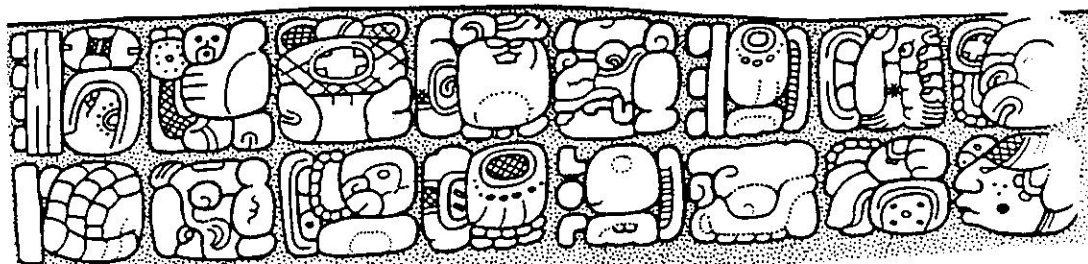
DOS PILAS : Stela 8



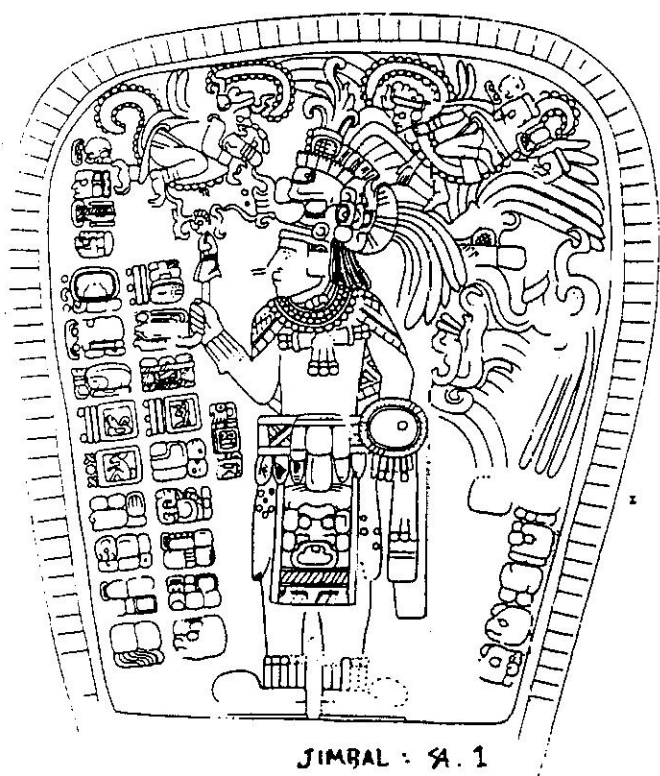
CANLUEN:
Panel



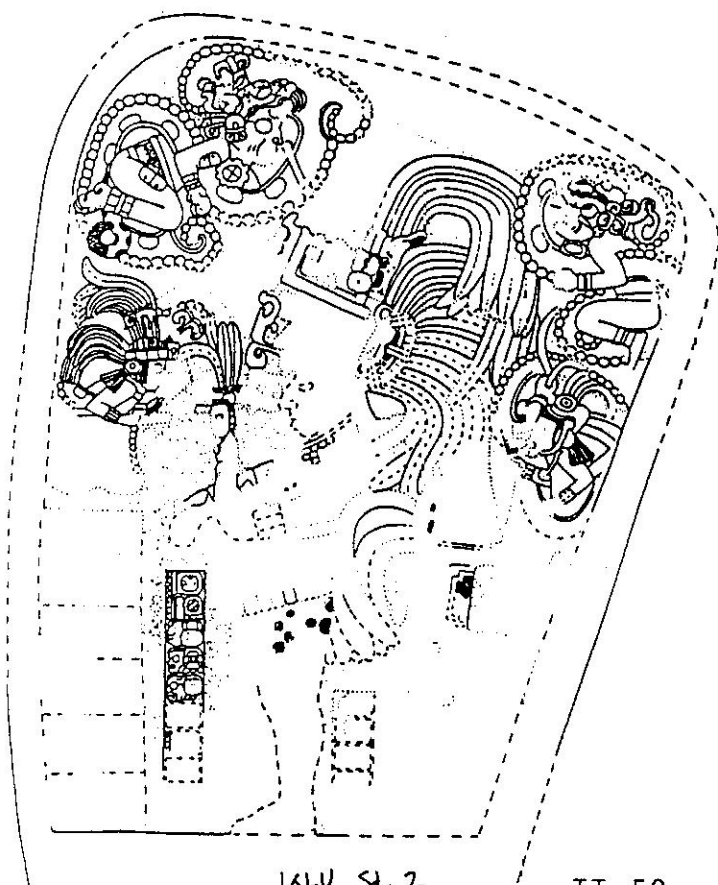
PIEDRAS NEGRAS : Panel 2



"Bathing" Rituals by the Paddler Gods

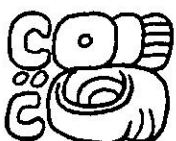


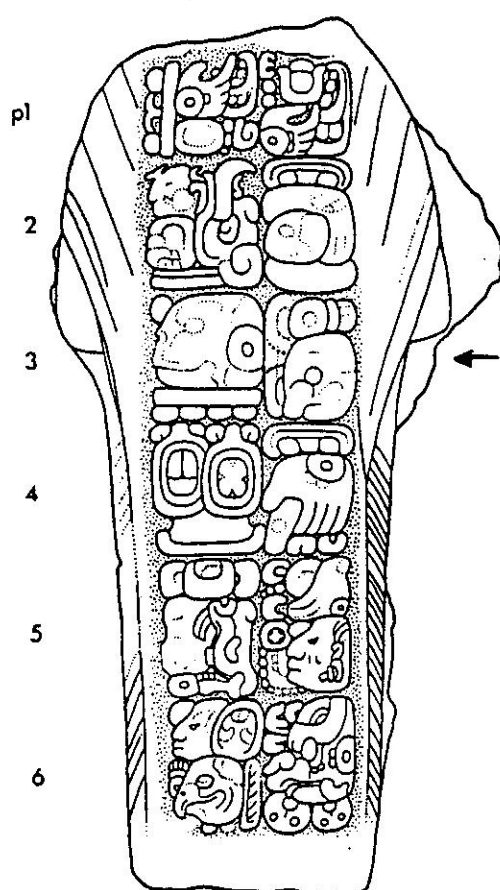
JIMBAL : SA. 1



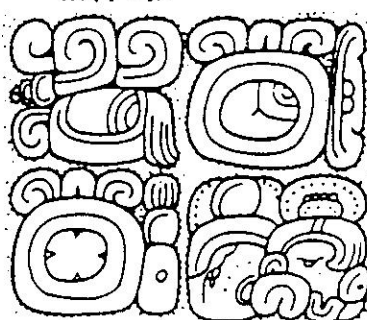
IXLU SA. 2

II-50

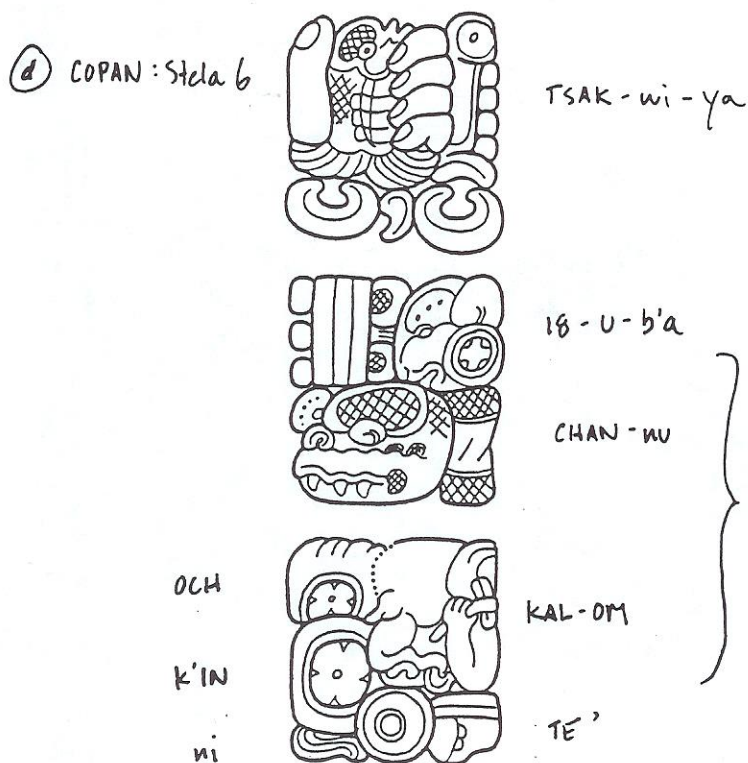
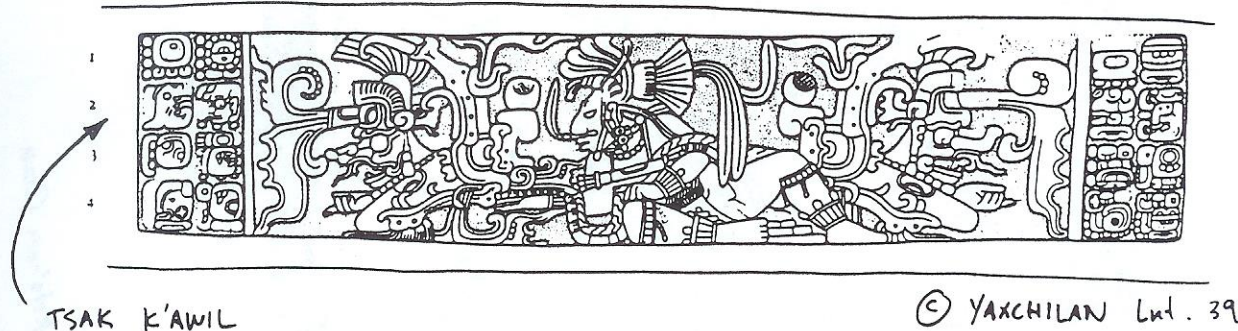
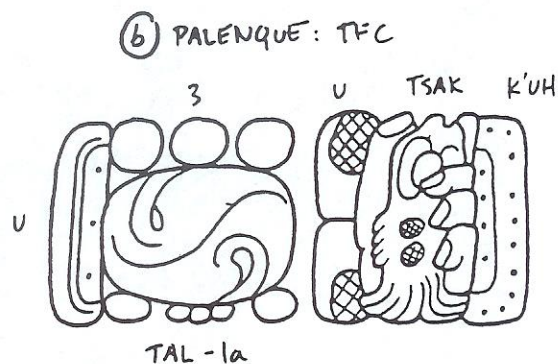
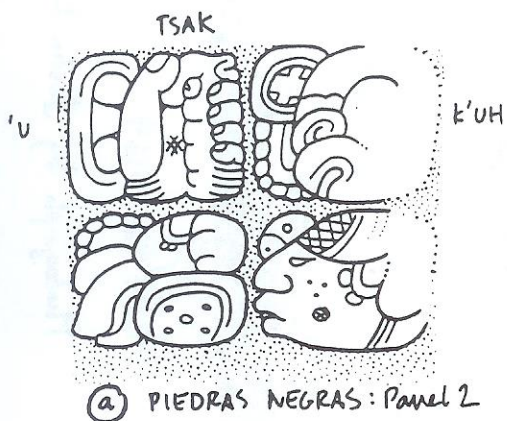
ya  ti
hi
'ati, "bathe"



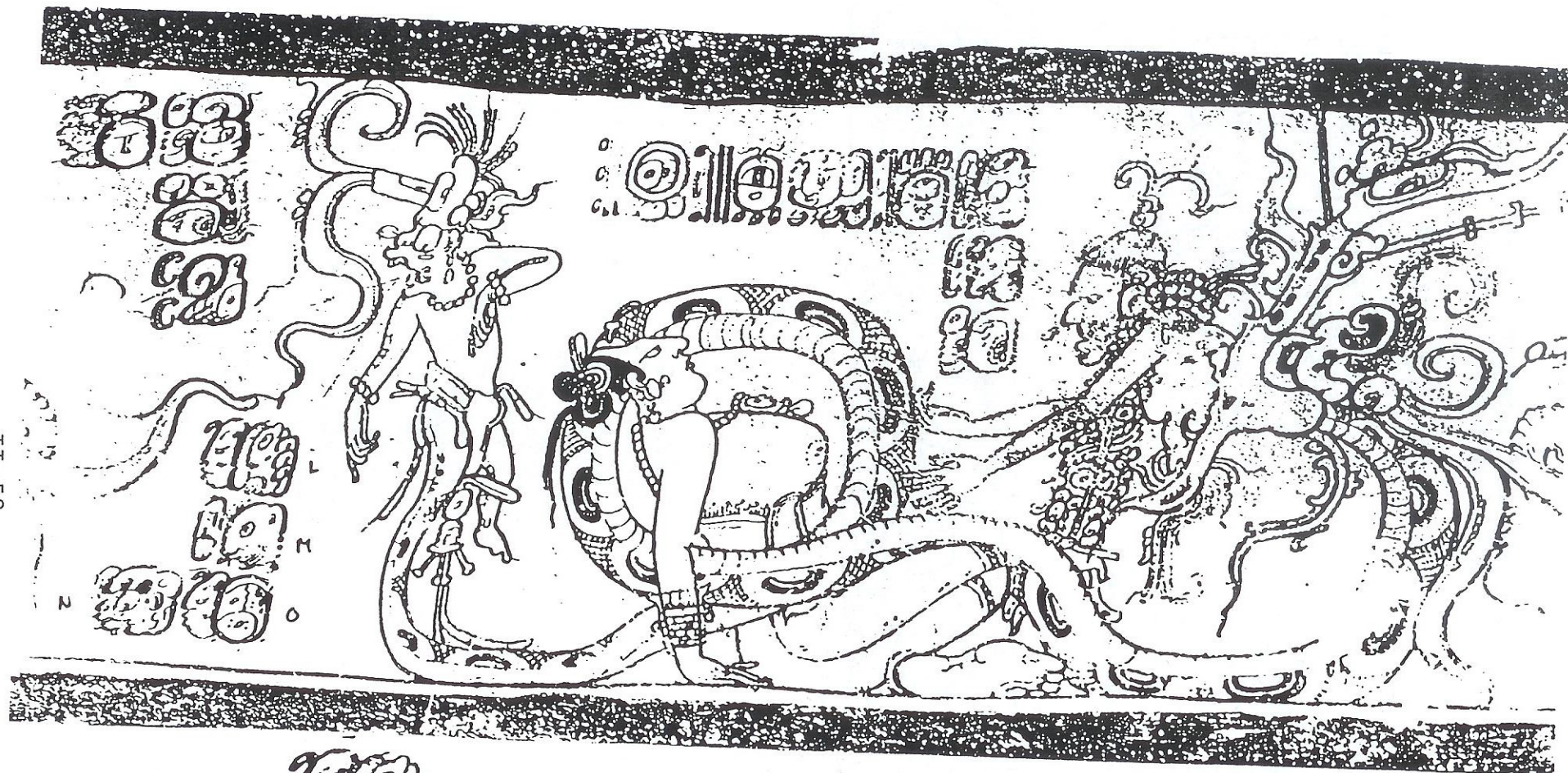
TONINA : M.

ATI? - hi
ya 

Manifesting and "Grasping" Gods



II-52



'IX-TSAK



ko-ts'o-ma



IX-WAY-IB'

CHAN

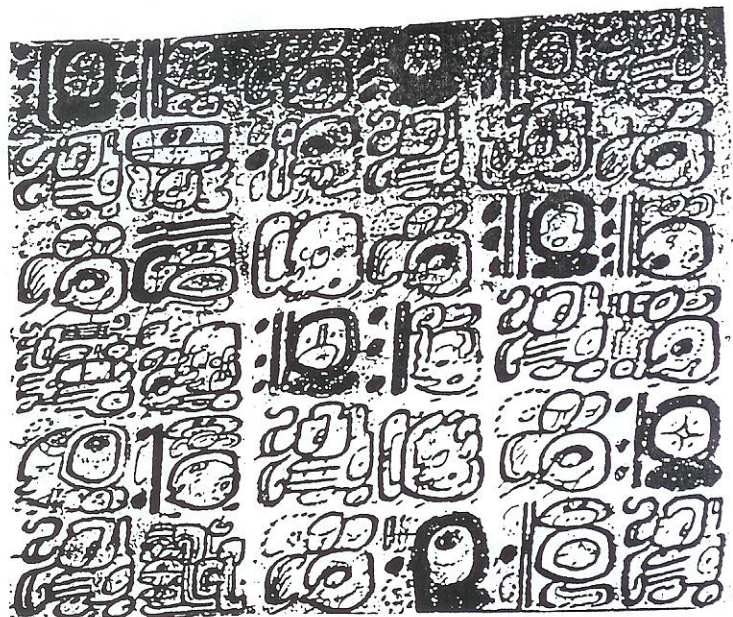
Kerr no. 5164

Photograph by Justin Kerr

'Ix Tsak kots'-om Chan

"She who conjures/grasps the
rolled-up snake"

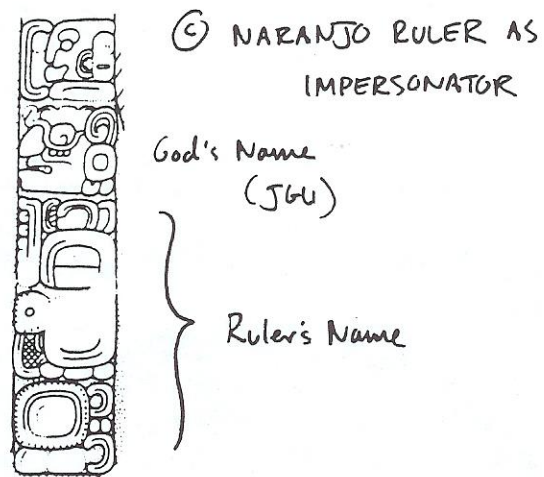
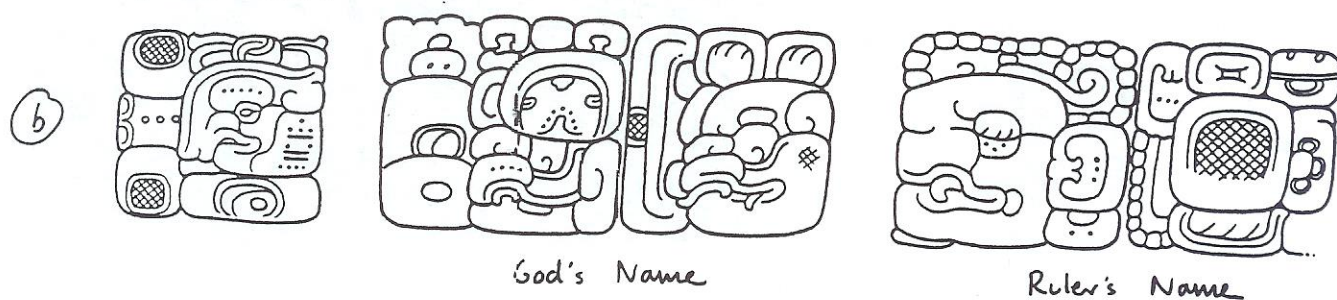
Taking K'awil



Deity Impersonations : The 'u-b'ah-il a-nu Expression



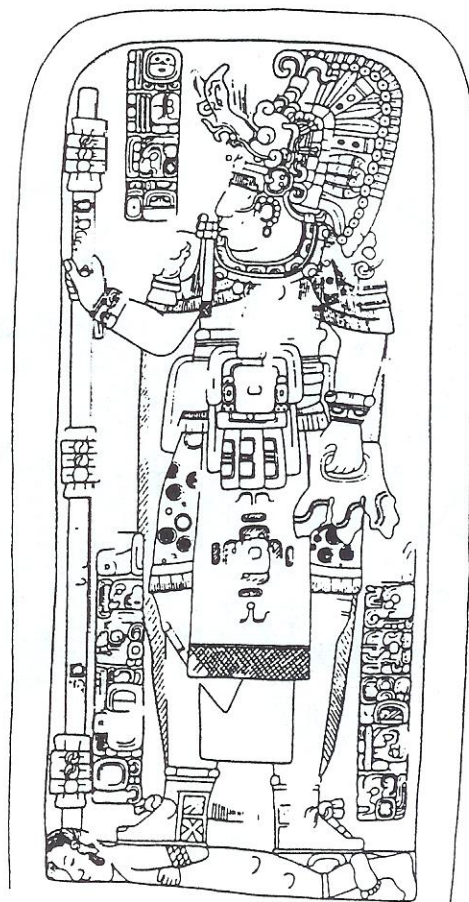
POMONA : Panel 1



Ruler's Name cont'd

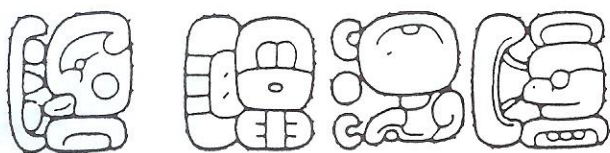
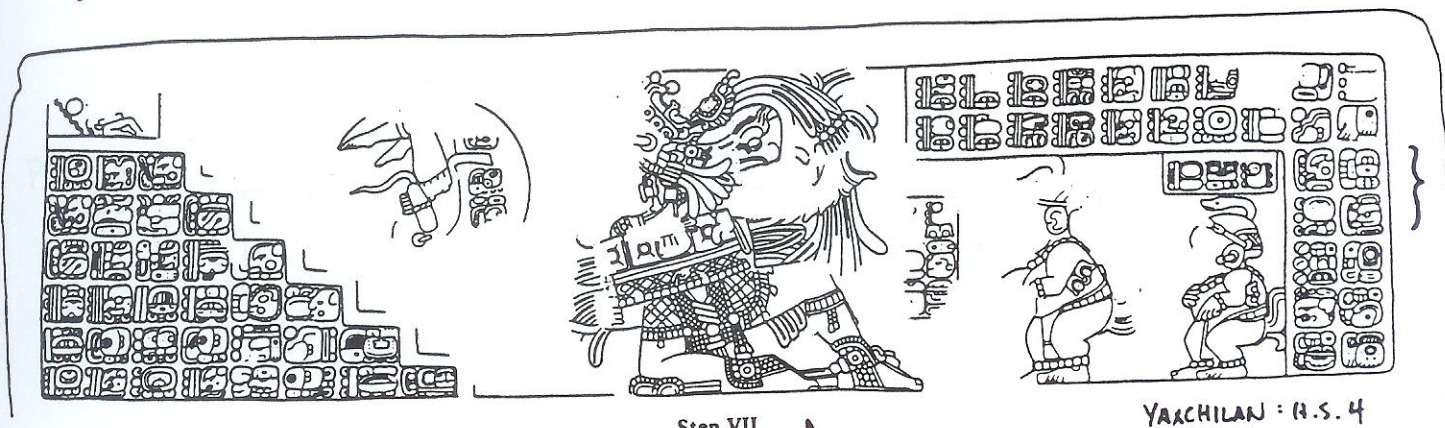


K'AK' TIL-IW
CHAN CHA'K

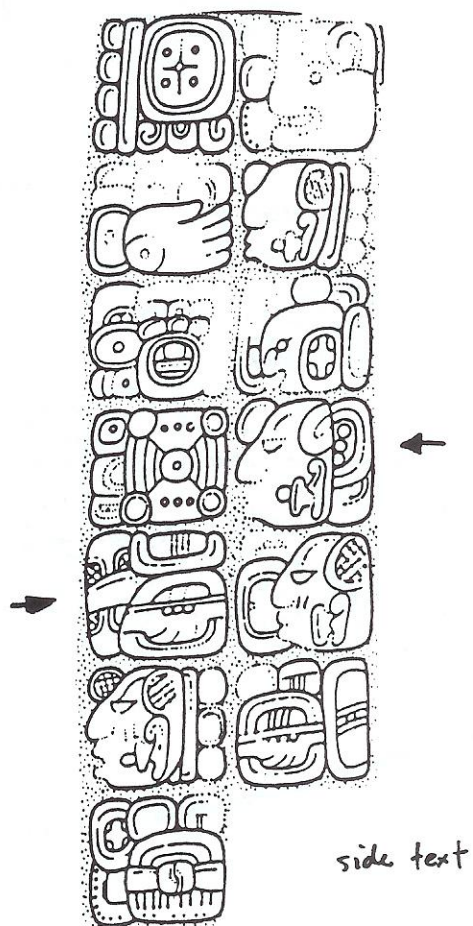


NARANJO : Stela 30

BIRD JAGUAR IV AS THE WATER LILY SERPENT:



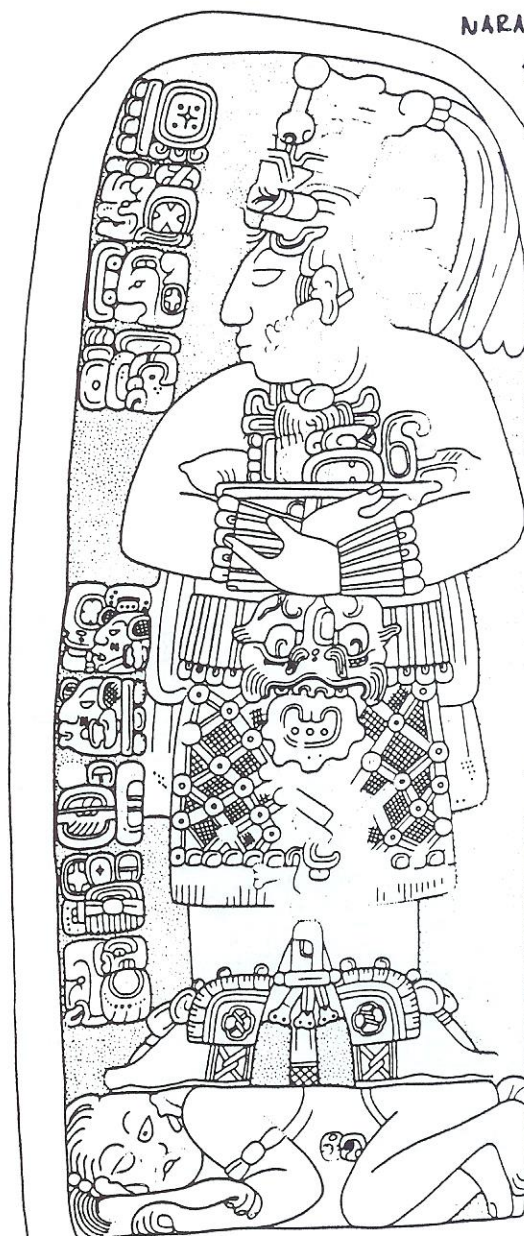
LADY 6-SKY AS THE MOON GODDESS:



side text

A
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
F

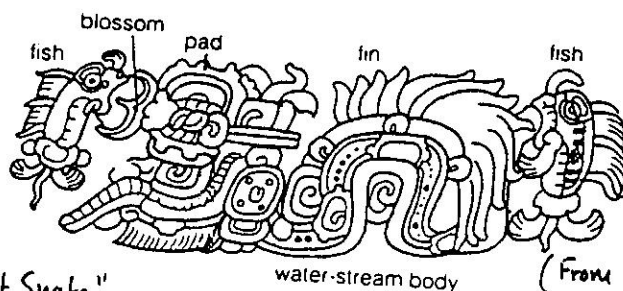
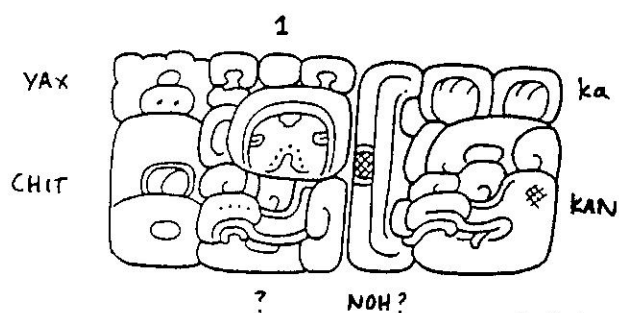
NARANJO:
Stela



The CHIT hieroglyph



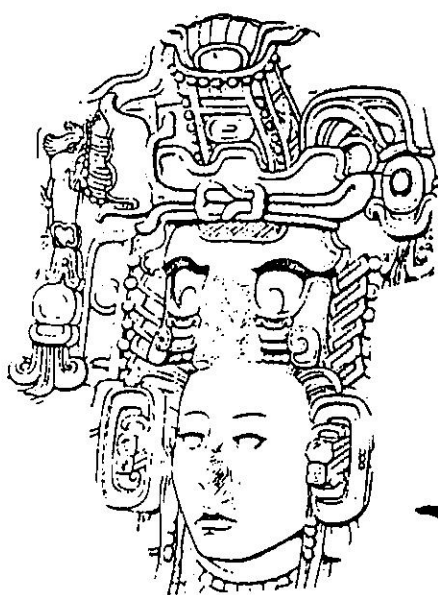
THE WATERLILY SERPENT



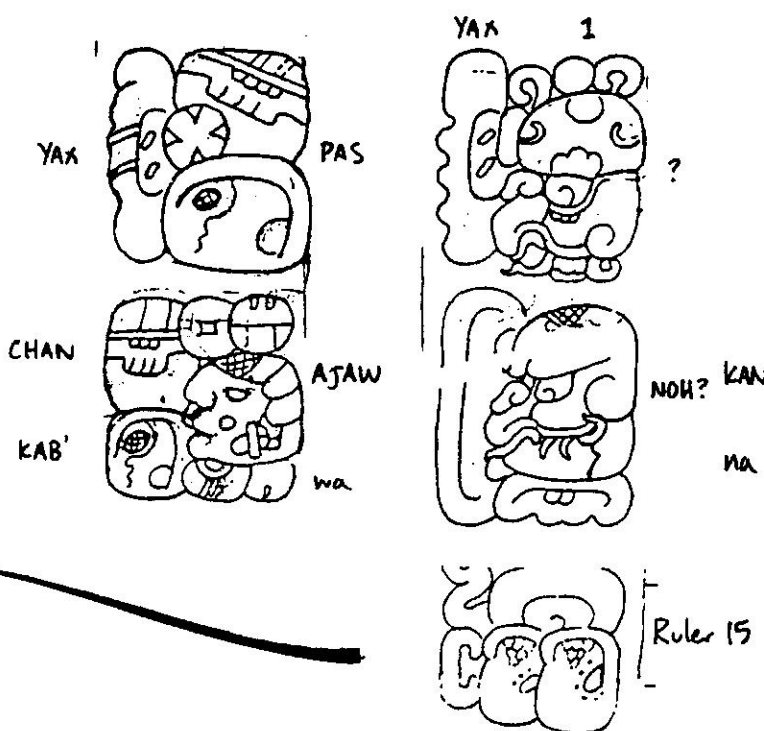
... Noh kan "Great Snake"

water-stream body

(From Schele and Miller 1986)

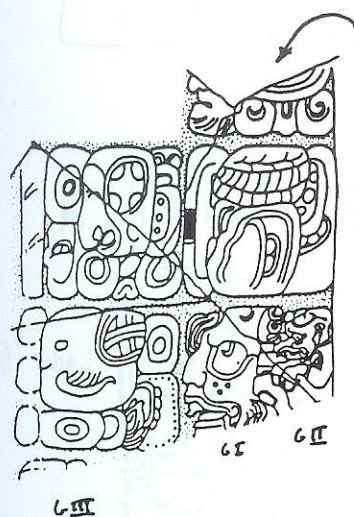
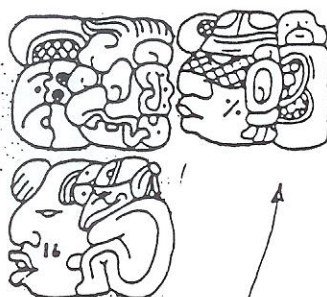
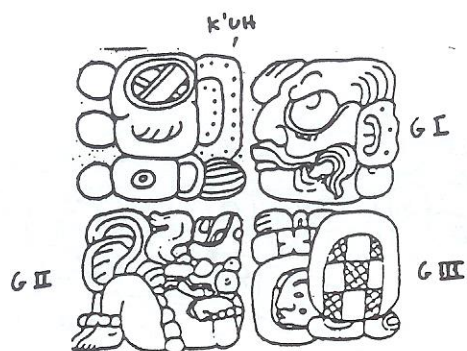


COPAN, ST. N

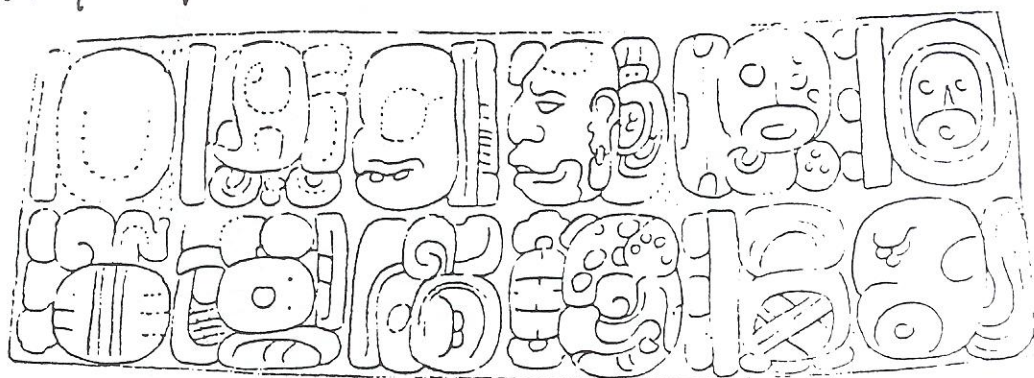


Local "Triads" of Gods : Palenque, Caracol & Tikal

PALENQUE
SET

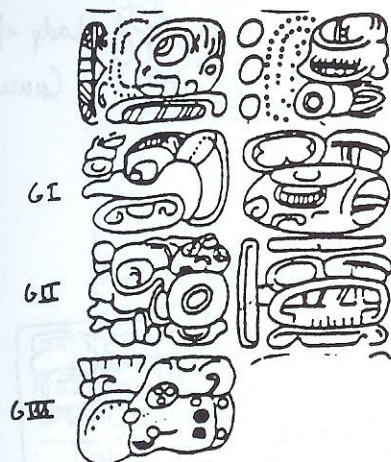


S Eb S K'ayob

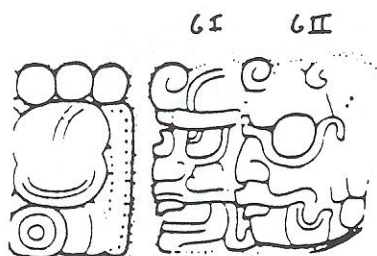


PALENQUE : Cross Group
"Death's Head"

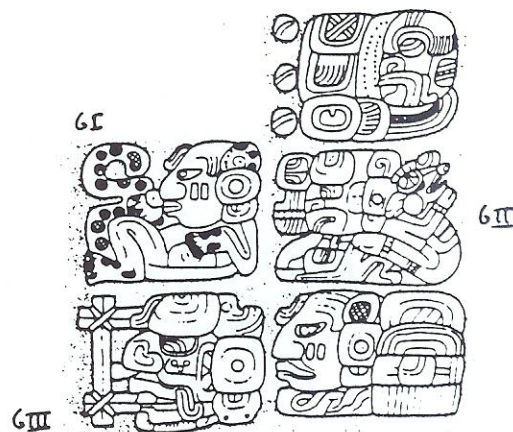
OTHER SITES ...



CARACOL St. 16

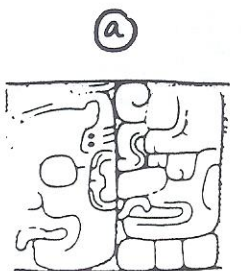


NARANJO : H.S.
(a Caracol text)

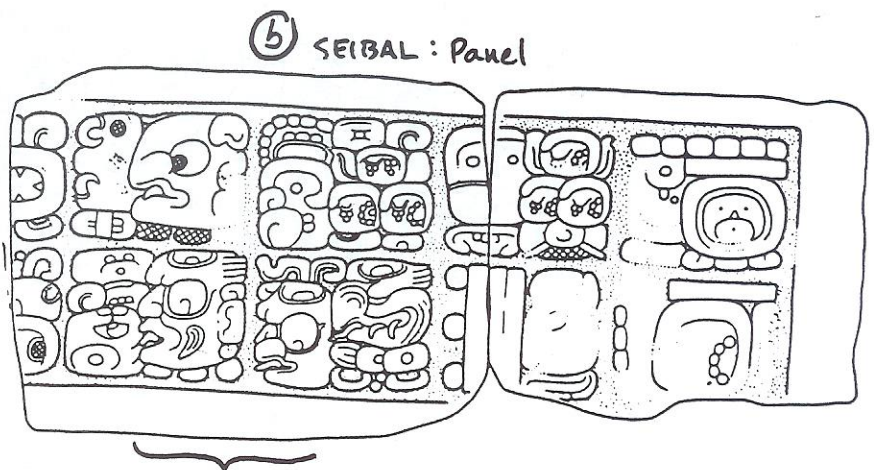


TIKAL : St. 26

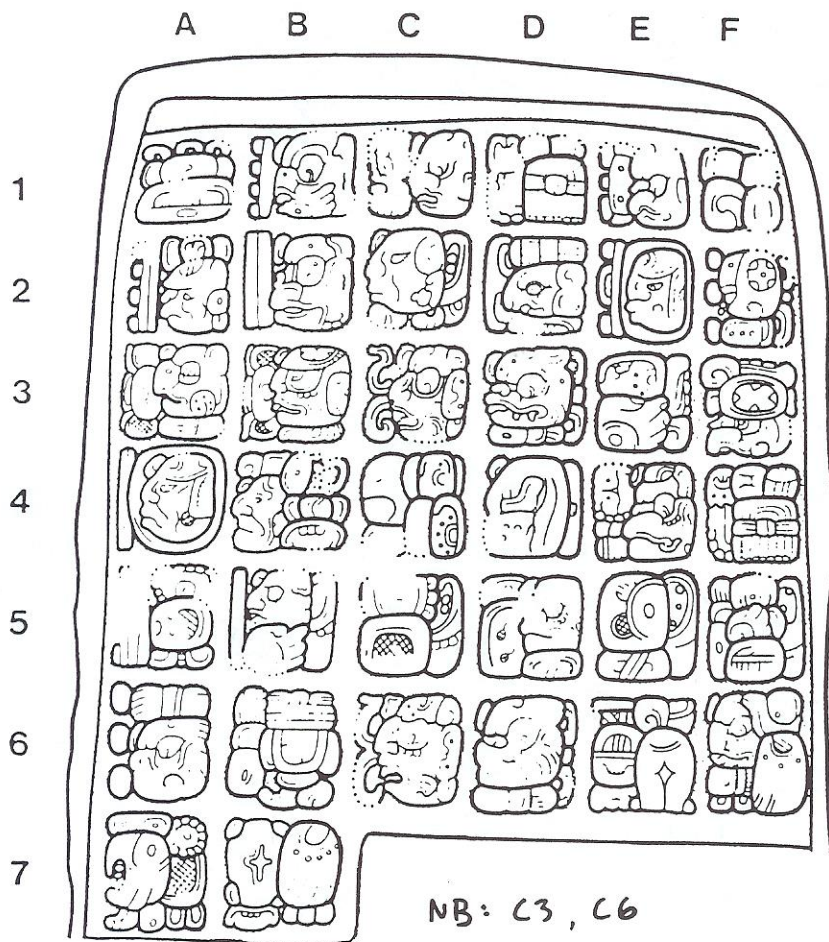
Local Gods at Dos Pilas, Aguateca and Seibal



"GI" k'awil



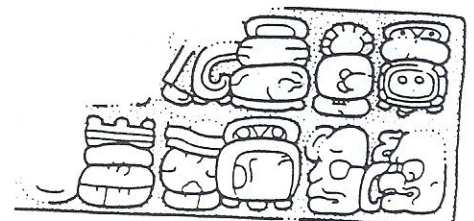
(c) DOS PILAS : Stela 15



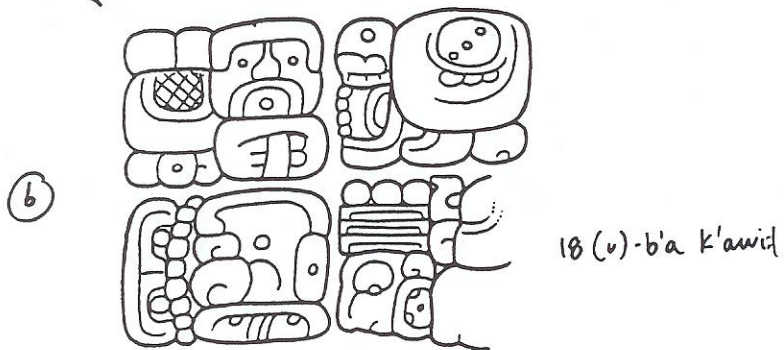
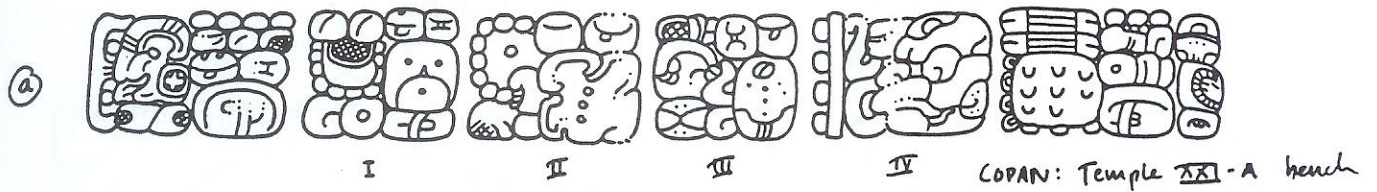
(d) DOS PILAS Pan. 19



(e) TAMARINDITO : H.S.



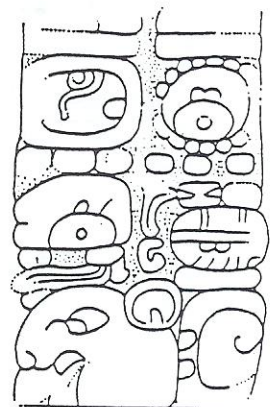
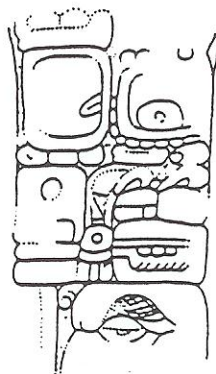
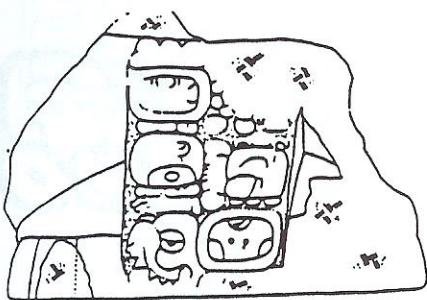
Local Deities at Copan



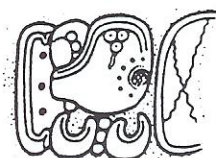
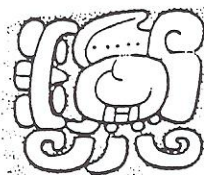
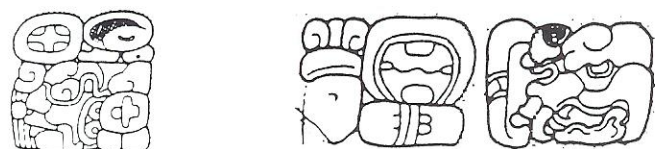
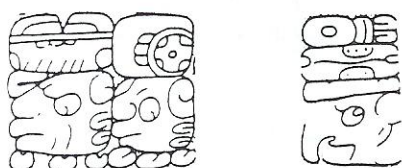
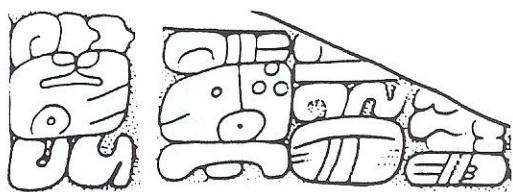
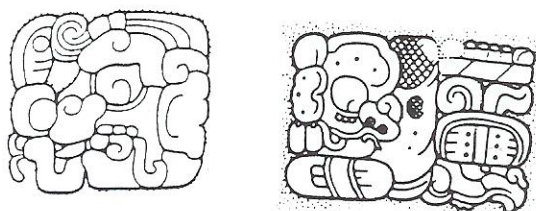
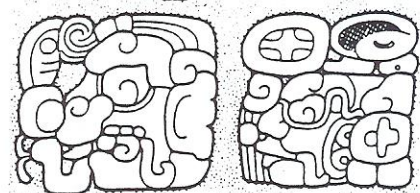
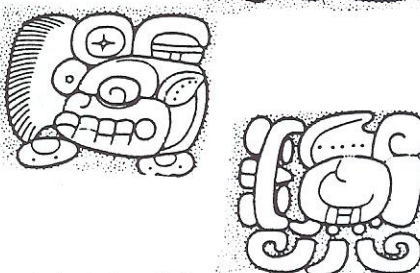
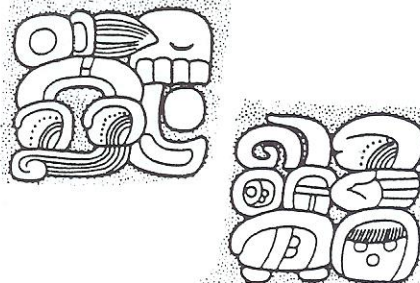
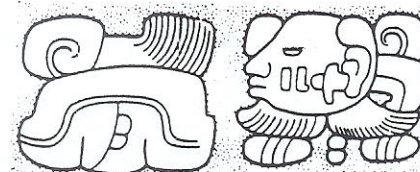
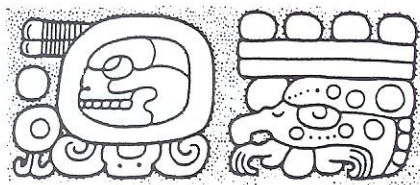
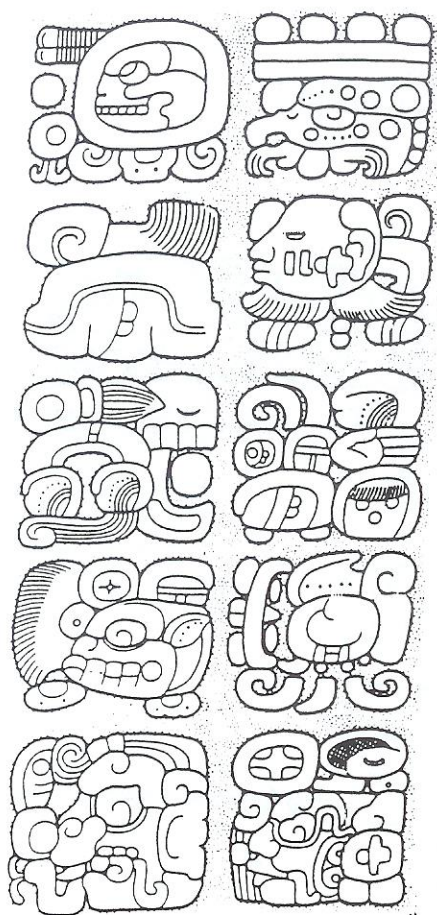
QUIRIGUA: St. I

(c) SEATINGS OF ANCESTRAL GODS :

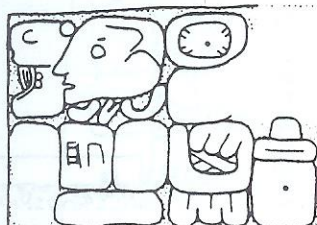
Stone censer lids



(Drawings by S. Bardsley)



God Houses at Chichen Itza

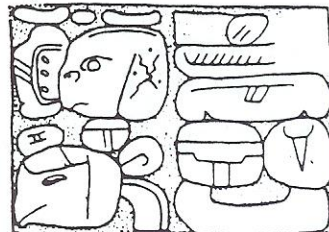


yo-to-ti

y-otot "his house"



[Name]

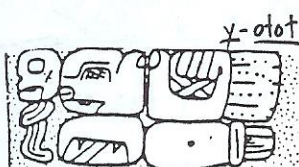
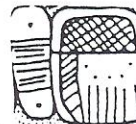
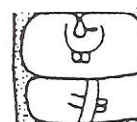
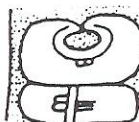
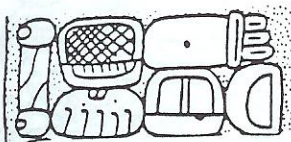
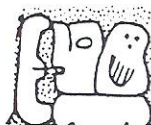
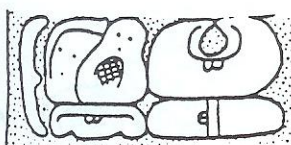


CHAN AL

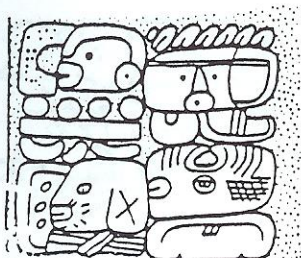
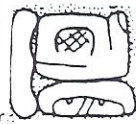
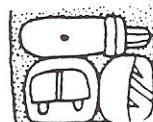
K'UH

chan-al k'uh

"Sky God"



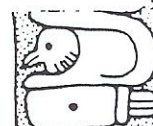
y-otot



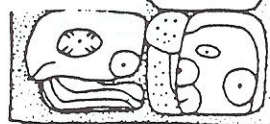
k'uh



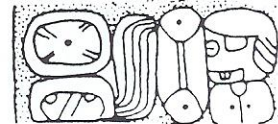
y-otot



'u-k'uh-il

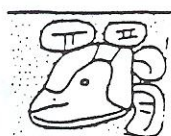


k'uh



k'in-il ko...? al

Historical name



'u-k'uh-il



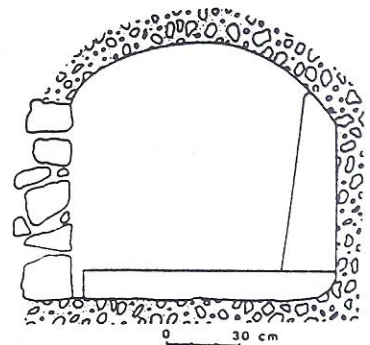
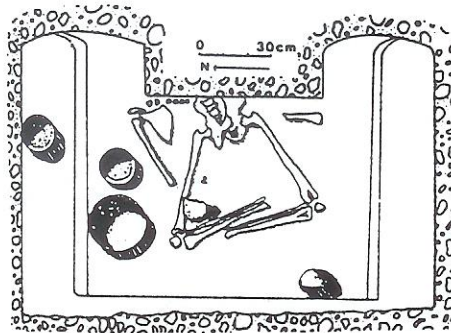
Ancestors Enthroned/Ancestors Depicted



TNA:
Altar

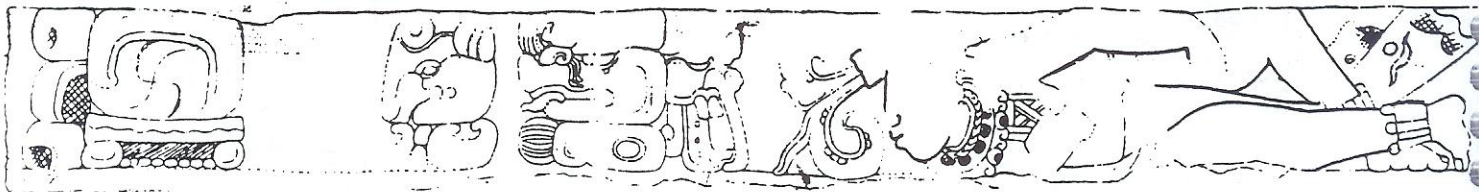
CHAM

(E. Graham field drawing)

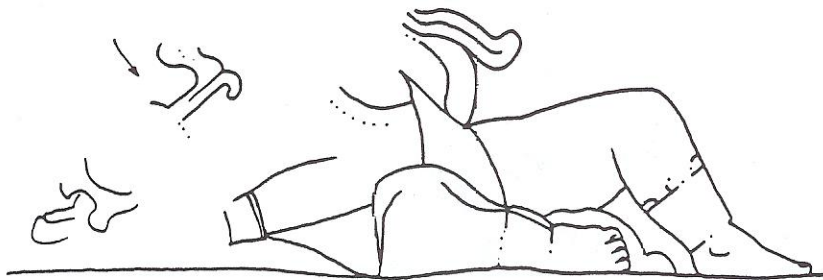
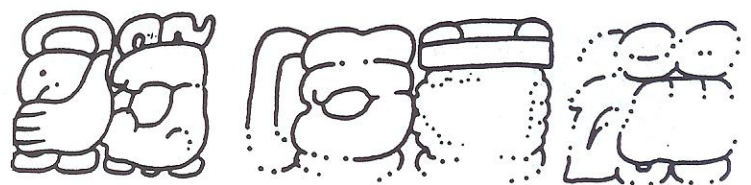


VAXACTUN "Throne Burial"

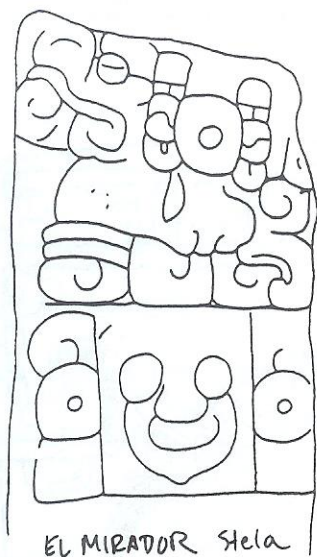
COPAN : H.S.



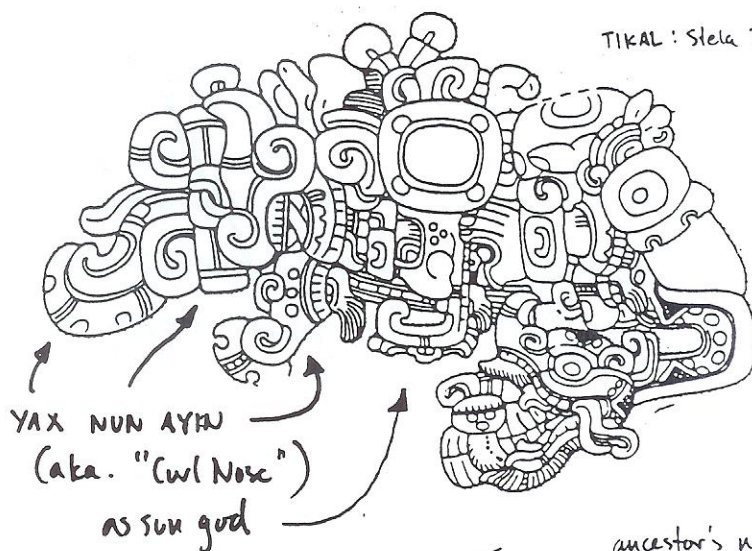
Ruler 14 figure



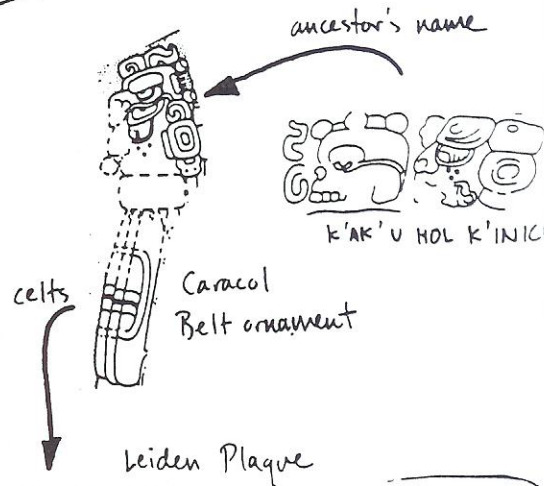
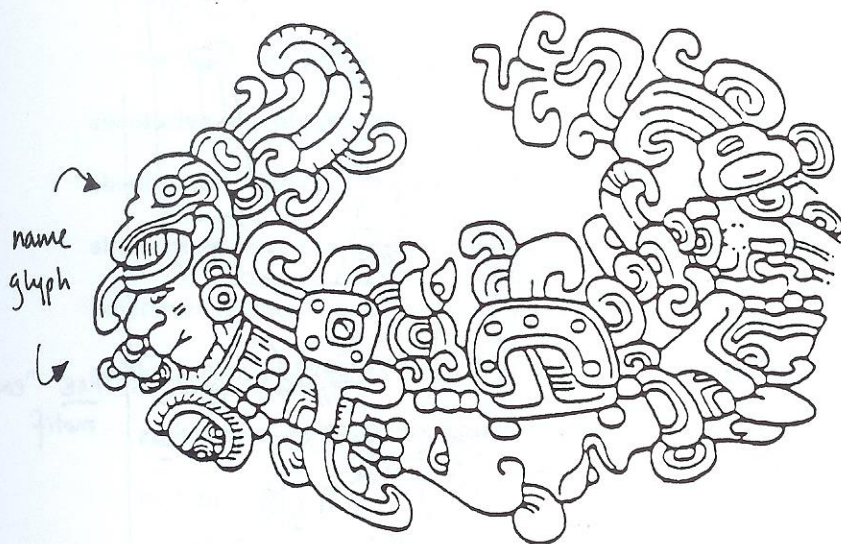
The Ancestors as Partial Embodiments and "Heirloom" Jewelry



EL MIRADOR Stela



TIKAL: Stela 31



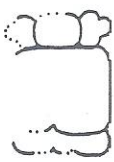
Leiden Plaque



Ancestors in the Earth



Ruler 4



PIEDRAS
NEGRAS
Sl. 40



"his mother"



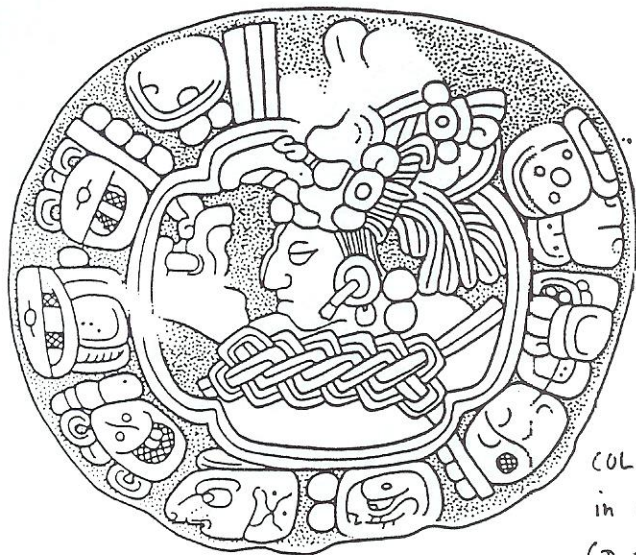
+u-nach



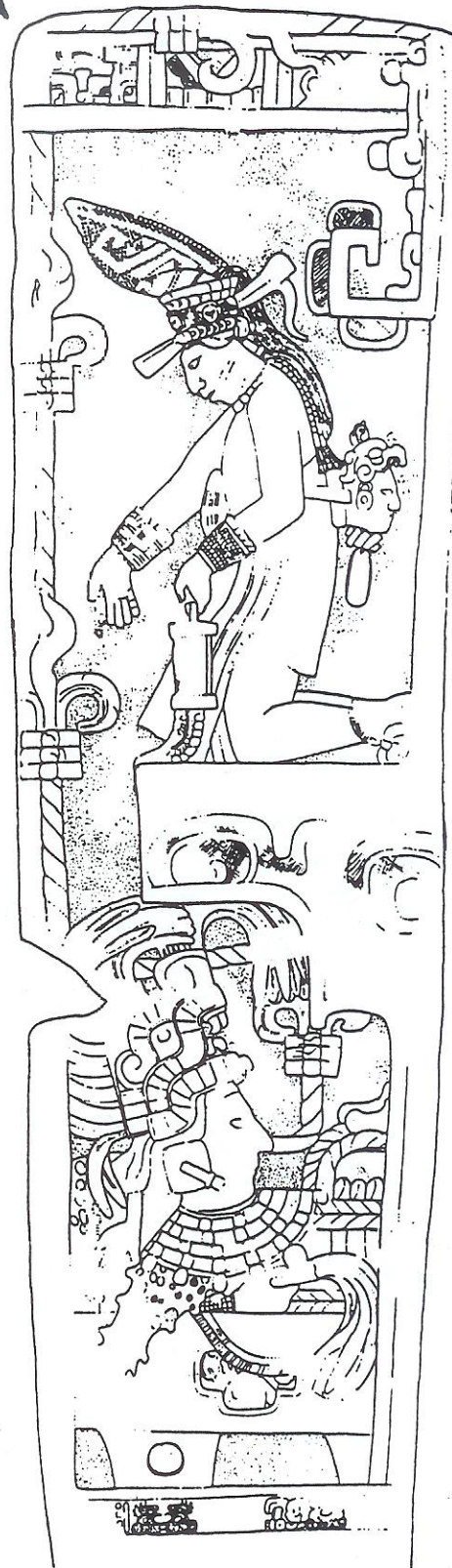
Cop. Sl. H



TNA: M. 69
(S. Graham drawing)



COL: Altar disc
in Chicago Art Institute
(D. Stuart drawing)
II-64



KAB' "earth"
motif

Preliminary drawing by
D. Stuart (CMHI)

GLOSSARY

Terms developed from a variety of sources, including Coe (1992:288-290), Haviland (1988:79-121), Kelley (1976:295-297), Lyons (1968), and MacLeod (1987). Others result from our own understandings of Mayan evidence. Most terms target glyphic script; in some cases (i.e., 'prefix'), usage varies from wider linguistic practice.

abbreviation Using part of a sign to signify the whole, as in variants of phonetic syllables (see below); often taken from a facial element, such as the dotted eye of a macaw (read **mo**) or spotted ear of a toad ('e). See **pars pro toto**.

absolutive Set of pronouns (Set B) marking subject of intransitive verb and object of transitive verb.

absolutizer Suffix (aj) that allows inalienably possessed nouns to appear without ergative pronoun.

abstractive Nouns of abstract quality derived from concrete nouns (ajaw, 'lord'; ajaw-il, 'lordliness').

adjective Element qualifying nouns and revealing some special quality or property pertinent to them.

aesthetic manipulation Principle by which glyphic spellings accord with aesthetic concerns, including attention to symmetry; such spellings often deviate from standard reading order: left to right, top to bottom.

affix Glyph of approximately rectangular form, often attached to **main sign** (q.v.).

agent Initiator of action in transitive verb.

agentive Prefix or suffix attached to nouns that describe kinds of people or roles people can occupy.

allograph Sign implying membership in a set of freely substitutable glyphs; this alternation suggests an equivalence in sound or meaning.

animation (see **full-figure**) Principle by which signs adopt physical features of animate beings, including faces, arms, legs, and torsos.

anticipatory numbers System of enumeration that specifies larger, bracketing intervals and then situates a number within those intervals; "52" is "12 within the third unit of 20 years," or "1st 20 + 2nd 20 + 12 [implicitly couched in the 3rd 20]."

- anti-passive voice** Absence of an object on a transitive verb. See **voice**.
- argument** Noun phrases of varying type; opposed to **predicate** (q.v.).
- aspect** Verbal marker referring to the verbal action itself, according to whether an event is ongoing (incomplete) or achieved and finished (completive); marked by inflectional particles or Ø.
- assimilation** Speech sound (phoneme) taking on part or all of the characteristics of another speech sound (usually a following sound): *ato:t* > *oto:t*. Here the *a*, in anticipation of the following *o* becomes *o*, from early to later Classic Mayan.
- bak'tun** Unit of 20 **k'atuns** (q.v.) or a sum of 144,000 days; unlikely to be the sole term for this unit in Classic times.
- calendar round** Cycle of just under 52 years in length; composed of the 260-day sacred calendar permutating with the 365-day "vague year," so-called because it only approximates the solar year of 365.2422 days.
- Classic Mayan** Language recorded in inscriptions of the Classic period; ancestral to Ch'olti' and its daughter language, Ch'orti'.
- clitic** Verbal unit that modifies virtually any part of speech, giving grammatical meaning. In Ch'olan and Tzeltalan languages, *ix-* modifies nouns, adjectives, and verbs and means 'recent past.'
- cognates** Words (morphemes or even sounds) of separate languages that are related because they descend from a common, ancestral form. The words *q'i:N* (Jaqaltek), *k'in* (Classic Mayan), *k'in* (Yukatek), and *q'i:j* (K'iche') are cognates because they all come from the same ancestral source, Common Mayan **q'i:N*. The notion of cognates is like siblings, in the sense that siblings descend from a common source. See **reflex**.
- Common Mayan** Parent Mayan language as reconstructed by the **comparative historical method** (q.v.)
- comparative historical method** Postulation of an ancestral form that allows for examples in all descendant languages. For example, *q'i:N* (Jaqaltek), *k'in* (Classic Mayan), *k'in* (Yukatek), and *q'i:j* (K'iche') are systematically related because they descend from a common ancestral form, **q'i:N*, Common Mayan for 'sun.' Each related form can be explained in terms of a series of changes based on the reconstructed form: Jaqaltek preserved the Common Mayan **q'i:N*; Classic Mayan and

- Yukatekan innovated by changing *q' to *k' and *N to n; K'iche' innovated by changing N to .
- completive** Aspectual reference to an achieved action, either recently, in the future, or in the past.
- complex vowels** Long vowel before a consonant, a vowel and glottal stop before a consonant , or a vowel and *h* before a consonant. See **disharmony**.
- compound** Combination of several signs, often a grouping of affixes and main sign; roughly corresponds to a **glyph block** (q.v.).
- conflation** Combination of signs that share the same outline, but without any reduction in size of constituent elements.
- correlation** Determination of correspondence between Maya and European calendars.
- correlation constant** Number added to **Maya day number** (q.v.) to convert to **Julian day number** (q.v.); crucial element of **correlation** (q.v.).
- decipherment** Complex process by which scholars move from undeciphered script to a precise rendering of the text in their own language; attempt to account for sign use.
- decorum** Extralinguistic influences on selection, placement, and ranking of glyphic information; affects display or reading of texts.
- deictic** Linguistic marker taking the act of speaking into account.
- derived transitives** Class of **transitive verbs** (q.v.) longer than consonant-vowel-consonant (CVC) from: e.g., *patbu* 'shape.'
- derivation** Process by which words are formed from other words.
- dialect** Regional pattern of speech.
- diglossia** Bilingualism based on marked distinctions between formal (or standard) and vernacular speech.
- discourse analysis** Study of language in use, usually in narrative strings; along with content, discourse expresses a sociolinguistic input of personal attitudes and social relations.
- disharmony** Presence of vocalic discordance in syllabic spellings; records vowel length or **complex vowels** (q.v.)
- distance number** A verbal phrase denoting time separating two dates, almost always positions in the

Calendar Round.

distributional analysis Study that compares sign use in closely similar sequences of glyphs; means of discerning patterns of substitutions and possible allographs.

ditransitive Referring to sentence with three arguments (q.v.); in glyphs, direct object usually rendered as possessed noun.

elision Derived from 'elide,' meaning the loss of a phoneme.

Emblem glyph Title used by rulers of Classic Maya polities; translated as "holy-X-lord," "X" often denoting the place ruled by lord.

epigraphy Study of script carved or incised into stone or some other durable material; for Mayanists, general study of glyphic texts, with emphasis on monumental examples.

ergative Referring to the ERGATIVE (Set A) pronouns; subject of transitive verbs, as well as possessive pronouns.

ethics In epigraphy, the consideration and practice of responsibility to texts, their documentation, interpretation, and preservation; may also concern issues of intellectual property rights.

full-figure Referring to signs with full evidence of **animation** (q.v.); in extreme form full-figure glyphs embrace or envelop adjacent signs, thus blurring sign boundaries and reducing intelligibility to reader.

future Time that is yet to come with reference to the here-and-now (see **tense**).

genre Pertaining to classification of texts by form and content; ideally, classification reflects ancient groupings of information.

glottochronology Statistical means of dating divergence of languages; examines shifts in inventory of certain words and deduces rates of change through comparison with better understood languages; thought to be unreliable by many linguists.

glottographic Pertaining to visible records of spoken language.

glyph Irreducible semantic or phonetic element of Maya script.

glyph block Roughly square unit of text containing either **main sign** (q.v.) or main sign with **affixes** (q.v.); often second element to be roughed out by Maya sculptor after outlining or blocking of overall

- text; sometimes accentuates emphasis and 'pacing' of text.
- grapholect** Regionally, temporally, or functionally restricted variant of script (see **dialect**).
- hapax legemonon** Unique sign or spelling.
- head variant** Alternate zoomorphic or anthropomorphic way of writing numbers; unlike animated glyph, graphically distinct from more common signs for numbers.
- hieroglyph** "Sacred carving," interchangeable with **glyph** (q.v.).
- high language** Prestige language (see **diglossia**).
- homeland** Conjectural region where a language was first spoken; difficult to determine in absence of coeval evidence.
- homophone** Sets of words with different meanings but same (or similar) sound; **rebus** (q.v) in script exists because of homophones.
- ideographs** Signs solely representing ideas; unusual in Maya script.
- inchoative** Class of intransitive verb derived from adjectives or nouns.
- incompletive** Verbal aspect denoting ongoing events.
- index** Systematic catalog of glyphs and their variant forms.
- infix** Sign fitted within another.
- infixation** Like **conflation** (q.v.), combination of signs, but with one glyph reduced in size and to fit within another.
- Initial Series** Place notational date recording long count position; tends to occur initially in glyphic texts, hence its name; preceded by Initial Series Introductory Glyph of unknown reading.
- inflection** Denoting different grammatical relations through changes in word.
- instrumental suffix** Particle enabling something to happen; attached to verbal nouns.
- interpretive community** People in habitual discourse over texts and their meanings; not restricted to literates or **reading community**, but inclusive of them (q.v.). Discourse takes place orally and through script.
- intransitive** Verbs (predicates) having a single argument (see **proposition**), namely, the subject: e.g., 'the sun rose.'

- irrealis** Verbal inflection describing something not known or not yet in existence; applicable to future tense.
- Julian day number** Astronomical series beginning on January 1, 4712 B.C., with year 0 inserted; relevant to correlation (q.v.) problem.
- k'atun** Unit of 20 *ha:b* (q.v.) or 7,200 days; probably derived from term for bundling or wrapping of years (*k'al-tu:n*).
- k'in** Unit of one day.
- literacy** The process, sociolinguistically conditioned, by which scribes and sculptors produce script and readers elicit sound and meaning from signs.
- local frame** Subset of **site frame** (q.v.), inclusive of one or more **reading frames** (q.v.): e.g., texts on a single building, or on a row of stelae; intended by scribes to be understood collectively, if through disparate reading acts.
- locative** Referring to place or the place where something exists or took place.
- logograph** Glyph conveying a word or morpheme; fundamental unit of Maya script.
- long count** Date recorded in place-notational system, chiefly with respect to a **bak'tun** cycle (q.v.) that commenced in 3114 B.C.; several long counts refer to even greater cycles.
- Lord of the Night** Repeating cycle of nine glyphs; probable series of nine supernaturals resembling sequences of Aztec and Zapotec gods.
- main sign** Large glyph that may have attached affixes (q.v.); convention that probably began when glyphs were coterminous with glyph blocks.
- Maya day number** Sum of days in long count notation.
- misspelling** A scribal error, either intended or inadvertent.
- mood** Verbal marker signaling the speaker's involvement in a matter under discussion. Spanish, for example, uses the subjunctive mood: *¿Que venga Juan!* 'Would that John come!' The subjunctive in this case indicates the speaker's wish that Juan come. In Common Mayan the marker for the optative (like subjunctive) mood was **-oq* for intransitive verbs, and **-V1'* for transitive verbs.
- morpheme** Minimally meaningful linguistic units of grammatical or lexical significance.

morphemic sign Glyphic sign that inverts CV syllables to yield VC suffixes; neither purely logographic nor syllabic, but bridging class of sign (e.g., IB from bi; EY from ye; IL from li ;

morphosyllabic Unit of script representing both words and syllables.

name-tag Glyphic specification of dedicant, owner, or maker of an object or monument.

narrative A story organized in careful, linear succession, inherently more formal and coherent than casual speech; possesses particular aims, studied patterns of beginning and ending, close editing of its content, and self-conscious highlighting of certain people and events.

natural language Language spoken by native speakers, serving meaningful social functions.

nominalizer Affix deriving a verb into a noun.

numeral classifier Element immediately following numerals that qualifies the thing being counted; Mayan languages have both general forms and specific ones that vary according to the entity being enumerated; relatively few appear in Maya script.

orthography Rules of conventionalized spelling; inferred by epigraphers from empirical patterns in script.

parentage statement Alternative description of individual designating his or her condition of being the child of a particular man or woman.

parenthetical insertion Explanatory or additional phrase embedded within a continuous text; phrases before and after are understood to bridge the insertion.

pars pro toto Part standing for the whole; a term usually applied to iconography (symbolic imagery), but applicable glyphically to **abbreviations** (q.v.).

passage First-order division of text (q.v.), with temporal information, verbs, and names; roughly equivalent to 'paragraph; contains constituent propositions, consisting in turn of constituent predicates and arguments.

passive voice When a marker on a transitive verb signals the absence of the agent, as Classic Mayan *mu(h)k -aj*, 'it is buried' (See voice).

patient Recipient of action from transitive verb.

personification Another term for **animation** (q.v.); can be incipient (the imposed outline of a human

face) or full (attachment to a body).

phoneme Functionally meaningful sound in a particular language.

phonology Pertaining to functionally meaningful sounds of language, and to its inventory of **phonemes** (q.v.).

polyvalence Property in which a single sign has several readings, either logographic or syllabic.

positional Class of adjective or verb encoding for placement in space.

postfix Sign to right or bottom of other signs, usually **main sign** (q.v.).

predicate Part of sentence or clause saying something about the subject.

prefix Affix preposed to a main sign.

preposition Word relating one noun to another, or noun to an adjective or verb.

Primary Standard Sequence Formulaic text with several constituent phrases; specifies dedicant, owner, or maker of object or monument on which the Sequence appears.

progressive Construction indicating on-going action; dates to Common Mayan times. Lowland Languages show the progressive as : Predicate [ERG-Vin-el] Subject, as in, *woli k-til-el* 'I am coming' (Ch'ol).

proposition Complete sentence (second-order division of text, q.v.) consisting of predicate and argument (or arguments). In the proposition 'Sandy smiled,' the predicate is 'smiled,' the argument 'Sandy.' In the proposition 'Sandy ordered lunch,' 'ordered' is the predicate, 'Sandy' and 'lunch' the arguments. In Mayan, a languages single word, e.g., *winik*, can either as predicate ('he is a man') or argument (*hul-i:y winik*, 'the man arrived') of a proposition.

proto-language/common language Reconstructions of the ancestral language from related, cognate languages. Ideally, Common Mayan and Proto-Mayan form identical reconstructions, but with an analytic difference. 'Common language' concerns the process of reconstruction and the derivation of that language into descendant tongues. 'Proto-language' emphasizes the language in its temporal and cultural setting. A 'proto-language,' for example, might yield words that allow speculations about the technology and environment available to the speakers of the language. The concept of 'common language' stresses the flow of linguistic change, 'proto-language' the static points between

such change.

Proto-Mayan See **Common Maya**.

quotative statement Glyphic record of speech act, marked by first- and second-person pronouns and followed by reference to that speech act (*y-ala-hi:y*) and its participants.

reading Decipherment, sometimes tentative, of particular sign, combination or signs, or text.

reading community Readers in habitual contact with glyphs in **site frame** (q.v.). Properly comprises the literate only; **interpretive community** (q.v.) consists of readers and those in habitual discourse with them over the subject matter of glyphs.

reading frame Discrete but comprehensive statement in glyphs (see **text**); intended by scribes to be scanned at one time, in a single act of reading. Some contexts, such as the Bonampak murals, contain many reading frames.

rebus Principle by which iconic representations of **homophones** (q.v.) alternate freely; in Maya writing sometimes restricted by semantic requirements of text.

reflex Word descending from common ancestor. Classic Mayan *k'in* is a reflex of Common Mayan **q'i:N*. Reflexes are like 'children,' in the sense that both descend from a common source.

reflexive Pertaining to verb that has same subject and direct object.

root Principal morpheme of a word (see **stem**); assigned to sub-categories based on derivational possibilities.

root transitive Class of transitive verbs taking consonant-vowel-consonant (CVC) form, as in *chuk*, 'grab, take.' This class does not use the same markers as another class of verbs, the derived transitive.

rubbing Direct impression of carved text that applies pigment to highlight relevant areas.

script death Graphic analogue to language death; sudden or gradual extinction of script through decreasing number of functions and users, incomplete acquisition across generations, and lapses in uniform standards of scribal use.

script pragmatics An approach to script analysis that pays attention to context and manner of reading

sculptor's signature Glyphic indication of sculpture's authorship; begins with possessed sign referring to carving.

- seepage** Transmission or influence of terms of grammatical particles from vernaculars into high languages (q.v.)
- semasiographic** Pertaining to visible records of ideas, but without reference to language.
- sign** Irreducible element of script; synonymous with **glyph** (q.v.).
- sign shift (or corruption)** Principle by which the iconic referents of a logograph or syllabic sign become less clear through time, eventually leading to iconic reinterpretation (and often misinterpretation) of original sign; process characterizing the transition from Early Classic to Late Classic periods.
- signary** Sum total of signs in writing system; properly sub-divided by period and place of use.
- single-argument predicate (SAP)** Predicate taking only one argument, including intransitive verbs and transitive verbs that are in the passive or anti-passive voice.
- site frame** Sum total of glyphs in reading community (q.v.); consists of multiple local frames (q.v.), only some of which were in imperishable form.
- space filler** Graphic element filling gaps around single digits in numerical notations; uncommon in the Early Classic and Postclassic periods.
- split-ergativity** Depends on the distinction between completive and incompletive aspect. In the completive aspect, the ergative marks the subject of transitives, and the absolutive the subject of intransitives and the object of transitives. In the incompletive, the ergative marks the subject of both transitives and intransitives, and the absolutive the object of transitives.
- stative** Referring to sentences that denote continuous, ongoing condition of being something, displaying a certain property, or existing in some place or position.
- stela** Upright stone monolith set into floor of platform, plaza, or courtyard.
- stem** Morpheme inflected with person markers or other particles.
- substitution** A pattern of alternation between glyphs; may indicate that the signs are **allographs** (q.v.)
- superfix** Affix placed above main sign (q.v.).
- superimposition** Principle by which one sign partly concealed (at least graphically) behind another, as though partially overlapping; partially preserves outlines of constituent glyphs.
- Supplementary Series** Lunar and other information supplied after the Initial Series (q.v.).

syllabary Sum total of syllables, presented by modern specialists within grid composed of cross-cutting consonants and vowels; best sub-divided by period and place of use

syllabic sign Glyph of CV form that began as CVC logograph ending in weak vowel or aspirate; combined with other syllabic signs and or used as **complement** (q.v.) without reference to original logographic value.

syncope Deletion of a vowel, as in Classic Mayan *chu[h]k-aj-i:y* > *chu[h]k-j-i:y*, 'it was covered.'

synharmony Vowel harmony in syllabic spellings of CV + CV form; clue of variable reliability to vowels of undeciphered syllabic signs. See **disharmony**.

tense Verbal marking of time, specifically referencing the 'now.' In languages with tense, what comes before 'now' is past (preterit), and after, future. What is generally 'now' is the present. Although Common Mayan only had grammatical aspect, they marked time with both particles and adverbials. For example, the particle **ix* meant 'recent past'; the adverbial **oN-e:r* meant 'long ago in the past.' When attached to numbers, this same *-e:r* suffix meant 'two days ago,' 'three days ago,' and so on: **kab-ej-e:r*, 'two days ago.'

text Sum total of glyphs in reading frame (q.v.); includes one or more **passages** (q.v.).

text hierarchy Framework for understanding context of glyphic reading: consists, in order, of **site frame** (q.v.); **local frame** (q.v.); **reading frame or text** (q.v.); **passage** (q.v.); **proposition** (q.v.); **predicates and arguments** (q.v.).

tonalpohualli Term used by Aztecs for 260-day calendar.

toponym Place name.

transcription Sign-by-sign rendering of logographic and syllabic elements; first-order scanning of text that needs **transliteration** (q.v.) to achieve intelligibility.

transitive Verbs having two **arguments** (q.v.), an agent and a direct object (see **proposition**): e.g., 'Sandy raised her hand.'

translation Third-order rendering of **transliteration** (q.v.) into language of reader; unnecessary to Maya, unless **diglossia** (q.v.) present.

transliteration Morphemic rendering of transcription (q.v.); second-order interpretation of signs by

reader.

tu:n Term for 'stone.'

under-spelling (also under-representation) Incomplete representation of expected glyphic elements; presumed to result from scribal choice.

verb Predicate of a **proposition** (q.v.).

vigesimal Reckoned by twenties; base-20.

voice A verbal marker that signals the suppression of one of the two arguments of a transitive verb. The two arguments are the 'agent' and the 'patient.' In the sentence, 'Sandy hit Lynn,' 'Sandy' is the patient, and 'Lynn' is the agent. There are two basic kinds of voice in Common Mayan: passive and anti-passive. Passive voice markers effect the suppression of the agent argument, while anti-passive markers suppress the patient argument. Thus, in passive voice, the agent is suppressed, and the patient is the subject of the sentence, as 'Sandy hit Lynn' > 'Lynn was hit' (by 'Sandy'). With the anti-passive voice, the patient is suppressed, and the subject remains the subject, as for example, 'Sandy hits,' but without saying who Sandy hits. Both occur in Classic Mayan, but the passive voice is much more common.

vowel harmony When suffix varies according to root vowel. The suffix takes on some or all of the characteristics of the root vowel: the suffix *-Vll*, for positionals is realized as *-al*, *-ol*, *-ul*, *-il*, *-el*, depending on the root vowel, as *chum-ul* 'he is sitting.'

Year Bearer First day of new year or last day of old; shifted during the use span of Maya script.

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Appendix 1

A Ch'olti'an Explanation for Ch'orti'an Grammar: A Postlude to the Language of the Classic Maya¹

Mayab
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In the Mayan classificatory tradition, the Ch'olti' language, as recorded in the 1695 grammar of Pedro Morán, is generally held to be related to but separate from the modern language of Ch'orti' (see Kaufman's 1976 classification, for example). Ch'olti' is said to be extinct, having no descendent daughter languages in modern times. This paper aims to show that Ch'orti' is «extinct» in the same way that Colonial Kaqchikel or Elizabethan English are extinct: they were spoken at an earlier time, but they are not dead, for both have continued through time and are spoken today in their descendent forms. The data presented here suggest that minimally, Ch'orti' is the modern descendent of Ch'olti'; or, at most, that ancestral Ch'olti' and Ch'orti' were mere dialects of each other, as say, Southern and Standard American English are dialects of each other.

The evidence supporting this assertion grows out of a careful comparison of the grammatical paradigms of Colonial Ch'olti'an and modern Ch'orti'an, which reveals that the particulars of Ch'olti'an grammar offer the best (and probably only) hypothesis by which the unique characteristics of modern Ch'orti'an grammar can be explained. It is by comparative-historical explanation that the connection between Ch'olti' and Ch'orti' is best established.

Specifically, I will first show that the appearance of a new set of Ch'orti'an pronouns can only derive from the Ch'olti'an grammatical system. I will then give evidence that the negative future marker attested in Ch'orti' is the reflex of a future marker in Ch'olti'. Finally, I will give a series of morphemes that are unique to the two languages. These facts taken together argue persuasively that Ch'orti' descends from Ch'olti'.

ERG: Subj Intrans Incomp
Acaian: *u-tal-el*
ERG3SG-come-NOMLZER
'he comes.'

ABS: Subj Intrans Compl
Acaian: *tal-on*
come-ABS1SG
'I came'

Acaian Ch'ontál ([Smailus 1973]).

CH'ORTI' PRONOMINALS

One of the unresolved linguistic questions in Mayan linguistics is the fact that Ch'orti' has three pronominal sets, whereas Mayan languages generally have only two such sets. The provenance of Ch'orti's newly formed, third pronominal set has never been successfully explained. It is precisely the explanation, given herewith, that secures the Ch'olti'-Ch'orti' relationship.

The normal pronominal distribution for Common Mayan is typologically **ERGATIVE** and **ABSOLUTE**, with the functional distribution as follows: **ERGATIVE** signals the subject of transitives and the possessive pronoun, whereas **ABSOLUTE** references the subject of intransitives and the object of transitives, as shown in the following Kaqchikel examples:

ERG:	Subj Tr <i>x-qa-kamisaj</i> COMPL-ERG1PL-kill 'we killed him.'	Poss Pr <i>qa-bi</i> ERG1PL-name 'our name'
ABS:	Subj Intr <i>x-oj-war</i> COMPL-ABS1PL-sleep 'we slept.'	Obj Tr <i>x-oj-a-kamisaj</i> COMPL-ABS1PL-ERG2SG-kill 'you killed us.'

In some languages, however, the above schema is complicated by split-ergativity, where the **ERGATIVE** pronoun marks intransitive verbs in the **INCOMPLETIVE** aspect, while the **ABSOLUTE** is found in the **COMPLETIVE**, as shown below:

SubjTrans Inc <i>u-sapa-n-on</i> ERG3SG-receive-INC-ABS1SG 'he receives me.'	PossPr <i>u-kaaa</i> ERG3SG-name 'his name'
ObjTrans Comp <i>uy-act-i-ob-ix</i> ERG3SG-abandon-aff-PL-ECENT.PAST 'he abandoned them'	

¹ This paper has benefited in form and content from the helpful suggestions of Stephen Houston and Robert Blair. Any remaining infelicities are mine, however, and not theirs.

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Ch'orti' is unlike other all other Mayan pronominal systems, however, in that for the subject of intransitives in the INCOMPLETE, there is a third pronominal set. Notice in the following that the new, third pronominal set corresponds exactly to the split-ergativity found in other lowland languages. That is, in the lowland

languages, including the Ch'olti', the INTRANSITIVE INCOMPLETE takes the ERGATIVE pronoun, whereas in the COMPLETIVE it takes the ABSOLUTIVE. In Ch'orti', however, it is the new set of pronouns that marks the INTRANSITIVE INCOMPLETE, as shown below, and more fully specified in figure 1:

ERG:	Subj Intrans Incompl a-wayan ERG/ABS 2SG-sleep 'he sleeps'	SubjTrans u-korpes-on ERG3SG-protect-ABS1SG 'he protects/protected me'	PossPro u-k'ab ERG3SG-hand 'his hand'
ABS:	SubjIntransCompl wayan-on 'we slept'	ObjTrans u-korpes-et 'he protects/protected you'	

The entire paradigm showing the three pronominal sets is shown below, with the starred, Common Mayan ancestral forms given for the (preconsonantal) ABSOLUTIVE and the ERGATIVE (Fig. 1).

THE ORIGINS OF THE SECOND ERGATIVE PRONOMINAL SET IN CH'ORTI'

A genuine understanding of where this innovative, aspectual pronominal series came from depends crucially on Ch'olti' grammar; it alone contains the clarifying information necessary to explain the new Ch'orti' pronouns.

	ABS	NEW SET	ERG
3SG	*.. --	a-	*ru- u-
3PL	*-eb -ob	a-...-ob	*ki- u-...-ob
2SG	*-at -et	i-	*a- a-
2PL	*-ex -ox	ix-	*e- i-
1SG	*-in -en	in-	*nu- in-/ni-
1PL	*on -on	ka-	*qa ka-

Figure 1. The Ch'orti' pronominal system, including the Common Mayan ancestral forms for both the ABSOLUTIVE and the ERGATIVE, and the new pronominal set.

The explanation for the emergence of the new pronominal series takes into account the following facts: Morán's Ch'olti' grammar describes two types of the INCOMPLETE for intransitive verbs. These two paradigms apparently fell together, yielding the hybrid pronominal set attested in modern Ch'orti'. The details of these two INCOMPLETIVES and how they collapsed into a single pronominal set follows.

In the main text of that grammar, Morán calls the first intransitive INCOMPLETE the 'presente'; it takes the form of the syntagmatic construction: *ial* ERG-Vin-el, as for example, *yual in-caxi-el*; continue ERG1SG-fall-NOMINALIZER 'I fall now [me caigo]'. (This particular form is almost without exception translated 'actualmente'... 'now....') Modern linguists refer to this particular form as «split-ergative», which, it will be recalled, marks the TRANSITIVE INCOMPLETE. There is no doubt that the split-ergative INCOMPLETE came from the PROGRESSIVE (see Robertson 1992: 222, 1993: 93-95).

The second INCOMPLETE, along with a second FUTURE are also described in the grammar, although the explanation is always given in the context of the discussion of other grammatical points.

The formation of these secondary two grammatical categories is somewhat unusual, and is surely an innovation of Ch'olti'. It is accomplished by adding the particle *a-* to the so-called preterite (COMPLETIVE), which has the effect of producing a semantic INCOMPLETE. To make the second future—the so-called 'futuro-en-ruz'—the same *a-* is added in this case to the «presente» (INCOMPLETE). To summarize, the secondary INCOMPLETE comes from *a-* prefixed to the COMPLETIVE, while the secondary, 'futuro en ruz' comes from the very same *a-* prefixed to the INCOMPLETE, as shown in Figure 2. In both cases, the *a* has the temporalizing ef-

COMPLETIVE Vin ABS vixi en 'I went'	FIRST INCOMPLETIVE yual ERG-Vin-el yual in-vixn-el 'I go(now)'	FIRST FUTURE x-Vin-ic ABS x-chic en 'I will go'
	SECOND INCOMPLETIVE a-Vin ABS a-vixi en 'I go'	SECOND FUTURE a-Vin-el ABS a-vixn-el on 'we have to go'

Figure 2. The grammatical derivation of the SECOND incomplete and the SECOND FUTURE in Ch'olti'.

fect of moving the «préterito» to the «presente», and the «presente» to the «futuro-en-ruz» (Fig. 2).

The fact that the irregular form *vixn* for 'to go' is used both in the split-ergative (FIRST INCOMPLETIVE) and the «futuro-en-ruz» (SECOND FUTURE) is convincing evidence that Morán's analysis is correct: with the prefixing of *a-*, the «préterito» (COMPLETIVE) does become the «second present» (INCOMPLETIVE), «first present» (INCOMPLETIVE) does give the «future-en-ruz» (FUTURE). «Nota mas, que el presente de los verbos neutros se hase futuro en -ruz, anteponiendole una *a* (Morán 1695: 55)».

However, it is important to observe that the «futuro-en-ruz» does not keep the ERGATIVE that normally accompanies split-ergativity, but reverts to the unmarked ABSOLUTIVE. Furthermore, it is clear that the COMPLETIVE form moves to INCOMPLETIVE by similarly adding an *a-* to the COMPLETIVE: «Tambien con esta *a* se hase preterito[,] presente» (Morán 1695: 55). Again, the morpheme *a-* has a similar temporalizing, semantic effect of moving the verbal action forward in time, such that the COMPLETIVE (which from a temporal point of view is 'time gone by') to the GENERAL PRESENT, and the INCOMPLETIVE in *-el* (split-ergative) to the FUTURE. This particular use of prefix *a-* is surely an innovation, but it is not far removed semantically from its use in Acalán Ch'ontal, where the translation of *a*+VERB into Spanish is almost invariably PRESENT PERFECT. Note that the PRESENT PERFECT has an effect similar to what has already been described: bringing the effect of a past action into the present, where it is currently felt². That is why in English (and Spanish) it is improper to use the PRESENT PERFECT with actions that are restricted to the past: *I have eaten yesterday at six o'clock.

These two forms are attested in the Morán's (1695: 61) liturgy, as seen in the following «futuro-en-ruz»:

Ch'olti': *Tuba a-bix-el uy-anima u-muzic utzil vinic u-coc-ob u-pehcahel Dios? Ti chan.*

Analysis: where *a-go*-NOMLZR ERG3SG-souls ERG3SG-spirits good men [who] ERG3SG- keep-ABSP3PL ERG3SG-words God. To heaven.

Gloss: 'Where will the souls of good men who keep the word of God go?' 'To heaven'.

Ch'olti': *Maca a-cuxpah-el xa tuyanil chamen t-u-lo-pah-el cav-ahauil Jesuxto? A-cuxpah-el xa*

Analysis: yes/no *a-live*-NOMLZR again all dead at-ERG-return-NOMLZR ERG1PL-lord Jesus Christ? *a-live*-NOMLZR again.

Gloss: 'Will the dead live again when our Lord Jesus Christ returns?' 'They will live again'.

The semantic notion of the SECOND PRESENT is also obvious in the following instances (Morán 1695: 63):

Ch'olti': *a-quex-pa ne pa ti chohuia bactal cav-ahauil Jesuxto*

Analysis: *a-change*-MIDDLE.VOICE the bread at beloved body ERG1SG-lord Jesus Christ

Gloss: Does the bread change in the beloved body of our Lord Jesus Christ?

Ch'olti': *a-quex-pa ne vino t-u-chobia chichel?*

Analysis: *a-change*-MIDDLE.VOICE the winte at-ERG3SG-beloved blood

Gloss: 'Does the wine change to his beloved blood'?

Although the semantic difference between the FIRST INCOMPLETIVE (of the form *ival* ERG-Vin-el) and the SECOND INCOMPLETIVE (derived from the COMPLETIVE, *a-Vin*-ABS) is difficult to assess completely, one could say that it seems to be the difference between definiteness versus an indefinite statement of some general truth (e.g. «water boils at 212 degrees»). Note that the FIRST INCOMPLETIVE is almost always translated *actualmente*, whereas the semantic environments for the use of the SECOND COMPLETIVE seem to be statements of gnomic or unchanging truths.

With the two Ch'olti'an INCOMPLETIVES identified, it is now possible to show graphically how these two pa-

² It is of historical interest that in Colonial Poqom, this same *a-* shows up as a marker of the RECENT-PAST (See Robertson 1992: 141.) There are many indications that Poqom was deeply influenced by Ch'olan — most likely by the ancestral language of Ch'olti'.

	Ch'olti' First Incomplete	Ch'orti' Incomplete	Ch'olti' Second Incomplete
3(PL)	u...el (ob)	a...(ob)	a...(ob)
2SG	a...el	i-	a...et
2PL	i...el	ix-	a...ex

Figure 3. A description of the shift from Ch'olti' to Ch'orti'.

radigms collapsed, yielding the single so-called third paradigm we find in Ch'orti', as shown in Figure 3. (Fig. 3).

These data indicate that in third person, the old *a...el* (ob), the GENERAL INCOMPLETE was formally mistaken for the THIRD PERSON pronoun. Since the INCOMPLETE and the ERGATIVE 2SG have the identical form, *a-*, the reanalysis of the INCOMPLETE *a-* to 3SG would have resulted in an unacceptable homonymy, with both 3SG and 2SG having the same form, *a-*. This potential homonymy brought about a domino effect. That is, the old ERGATIVE 2PL would move to replace the old ERGATIVE 2SG *a-*. This would again have resulted in another unacceptable homonymy, in that ERGATIVE 2SG and 2PL would have both been *-i*. Apparently this prompted the final «domino»: ERGATIVE 2PL *i-* remained, but was disambiguated by the addition of the *x* of the ABSOLUTE 2PL *-ex*, yielding a new form for 3PL, *ix-*. Thus *u-* > *a-*, *a-* > *i-*, and *i-* > *ix-*, in a succession of changes.

This remarkable chain of events meant that (a) the distinction between the two Ch'olti'an INCOMPLETIVES was lost, and (b) a new set of pronominals came into being. Whereas it is the norm in Mayan languages for the old nominalizing form *-el* to mark INCOMPLETE (from the PROGRESSIVE), in this case it was lost with the collapse of the two INCOMPLETIVES, and furthermore split-ergativity was marked simply by the bare, newly-devised pronominal set, with no trace of the historical nominalizer.

CONTINUATION OF THE FUTURE

There is more evidence that the above analysis appropriately represents the connection between Ch'olti'

and Ch'orti'. Ch'olti' had a future that took the form *x-Vin-ik* for intransitives and *x-CV₁ C-V₁ and x-CVCV-n* for the transitives:

xpacxic en [š-pak š i-k en], 'voluereme [I will come back]'

xucolo et [š-u-kol-o] 'Dios te librara [God will free you]'

xaubin sermon [š-aw-ubi-n sermon] 'oiras sermon [you will hear the sermon]'

xinuilan [š-inw-ila-n] 'yo lo vere [I will see it]'

In Chorti' the FUTURE has been lost. The INCOMPLETE takes its place, except in the NEGATIVE FUTURE, which is *mi-x-Vin-ik* for intransitives and *mi-x-CVC-i-k* for the transitives:

mi-x-chamay-en-ik en 'I will not die'

mi-x-u-xur-i-k 'he will not cut it'

Figures 4 and 5 show the NEGATIVE FUTURE is a continuation of the earlier *x-FUTURE* (Figs. 4 and 5).

Given the fact that Ch'olti' has *ma + x* [maš] as negative FUTURE markers while Ch'orti' has *mi + x* [miš], it seems inescapable to suppose that Ch'olti' *š* is ancestral to Ch'orti' *s*³. This hypothesis is bolstered by the

Cholti'	
	INCOMPLETE FUTURE
POSITIVE	<i>aquexpā</i> [a-k'eš-pa] a-change-MIDDLE.VOICE 'it changes'
	<i>xcaxic en</i> [x-k'aš-ik en] FULL-fall-OPTATIVE ABS1SG 'I will fall'
NEGATIVE	<i>ma u-choco et</i> [ma u-o et-] not ERG3SG-send-aff ABS2SG 'he does not send you'
	<i>ma xcaxic et</i> [ma š-k'aš-ik et] NEG FUT-fall-OPT ABS2SG 'you will not fall'

Figure 4. Ch'olti'an FUTURE, positive and negative.

Chorti'	
	INCOMPLETE FUTURE
POSITIVE	<i>a-wayan</i> ERG3-sleep 'he sleeps'
	<i>a-wayan</i> ERG3-sleep 'he sleeps'
NEGATIVE	<i>ma'chi a-wayan</i> NEG ERG3-sleep 'he does not sleep'
	<i>mi-x-wan-ik</i> NEG FUT-sleep-OPT 'he will not sleep'

Figure 5. Ch'orti'an FUTURE, positive and negative.

³ This form is probably from the Common Mayan incomplete marker *kV-, which shows up as *š*- in many of the Common Tzeltalan languages (Robertson 1992: 186-187).

fact that Ch'olti' had an irregular FUTURE form for the verb 'to go,' *chix*, which continues as the negative FUTURE marker in Ch'orti'.

In the COMPLETIVE, the form is *vix* [BIX], whereas in the FUTURE, the form is *chi*:

COMPLETIVE	
Ch'olti' <i>Vixi en</i> [bixi en] 'yo fui [I went] <i>vixi et</i> [bixi et] FUTURE 'tu fuiste [you went]'	Ch'orti' <i>ixy-e'n</i> 'I went' <i>ixy-e't</i> 'you went'
FUTURE	
Ch'olti' <i>xchic en</i> [x-chi-k] 'yo ire [I will go] <i>xchic et</i> [x-chik] 'tu iras [you will go]'	Ch'orti' <i>mix chik-en</i> 'I won't go' <i>mix chik-et</i> 'you won't go'
INCOMPLETIVE	
Ch'olti' <i>yual u-vixnel</i> [iwal a-bix-n-el] 'actualmente se ba [now he goes] <i>auixi en</i> [a-bixi en] 'uoi [I go] <i>auixi*</i> [a-bixi] 'va [he goes]'	Ch'orti' <i>a-xin</i> 'he goes' <i>in-xin</i> 'I go'

In Ch'orti', the NEGATIVE FUTURE takes the same irregular FUTURE form found in Ch'olti': *chi*. This is strong evidence that the *x* of Ch'orti' *mix* is a reflex of the Ch'olti' FUTURE marker *x*. It is also significant that although Ch'orti' does not have the initial *b* of the root, it does preserve the *-i* of the INCOMPLETIVE. Again, taken together, these data strongly support the claim that Ch'orti' descends from Ch'olti'.

FURTHER EVIDENCE

Although the innovation of the two INCOMPLETIVES is new from Classic Maya times, and although there is no known evidence of an *x*- FUTURE in Classic Maya (probably due to rhetorical style), there are several grammatical elements that are shared by all three languages. All of these are discussed in detail in Houston *et al.* (1998):

•-V.y. This morpheme in Common Mayan marked the INTRANSITIVE POSITIONAL in Common Tzeltalan, but subsequently became a passive marker in Preclassic Maya, and then a middle voice marker by Classic Maya times, and then a marker of certain intransitive verbs by Ch'olti'an times, and finally a more general-

ized intransitive marker by Ch'orti'an times. No other Mayan language has this form as a marker of intransitives (or of the middle voice).

•-h-...aj PASSIVE. Like -V,y, this morpheme was also in Common Mayan a marker for the INTRANSITIVE POSITIONAL and became a passive marker in Classic Maya, and has persisted through Ch'olti' down to Ch'orti'.

•-bu. This morpheme is attested in the hieroglyphic script, in Ch'olti', and in Ch'orti'. It is Ch'orti', however, that gives the best picture of the nature of -bu. In Ch'orti', where we have more expansive data than in Ch'olti' and Classic Maya, it turns out that there are two morphemes, -bu and -ba. -Bu appears with positional roots whose root vowel is *a*, as for example, *in-pak-b'u*, 'I folded it.' -Ba, on the other hand appears only with those positional roots whose root vowel is not *a*, as for example, *u-kot-ba* 'he turned it up-side-down.' Because the limited corpus of Classic Maya and Ch'olti' has only the root vowel *a*, there are no examples of the other form, -ba, that was surely a congener of -bu. More data would very likely reveal the second form, -ba, amply attested in modern Ch'orti'.

•Pronoun system. Although conservation of a grammatical feature cannot be used as evidence for subgrouping in a family tree, it is nonetheless useful, after all the innovations have already established a sub-

* Although the form for 'he goes,' *auixi* [a-bixi] is not attested in Moran, by paradigmatic prediction this would have to be the form: *auixi* [a-bix-i].

grouping, to consider grammatical conservatism. It turns out that *all* lowland languages, and even all Greater Tzeltalan languages, except for Classic Maya, Ch'olti', and Ch'orti', have innovated by analogically forming an inclusive/exclusive *we*. Even those languages most closely related to Ch'olti' — Ch'ol and Ch'olan — so innovated. These three languages, related by lineage, preserved almost intact the Common Mayan system of pronouns (see Robertson 1982).

CONCLUSION

Given this explanation of the shift from Ch'olti' to Ch'orti', the traditional view that the genetic relationship between Ch'olti' and Ch'orti' is a sister relationship (Kaufman 1976), as shown in Figure 6, must be questioned (Fig. 6).

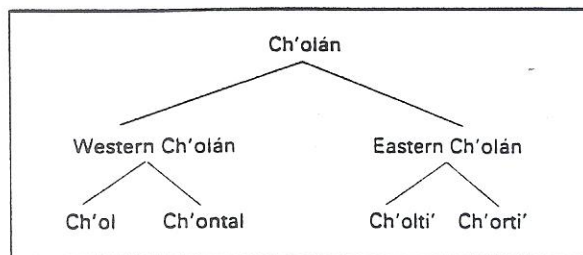


Figure 6. The traditional view of the relationship between Ch'olti' and Ch'orti'.

The entire Mayan tree in Figure 7 shows, in bold face, the revisions suggested in this paper indicating that Classic Maya, Ch'olti', and Ch'orti' form a lineage that has heretofore not been properly delineated (Fig. 7).

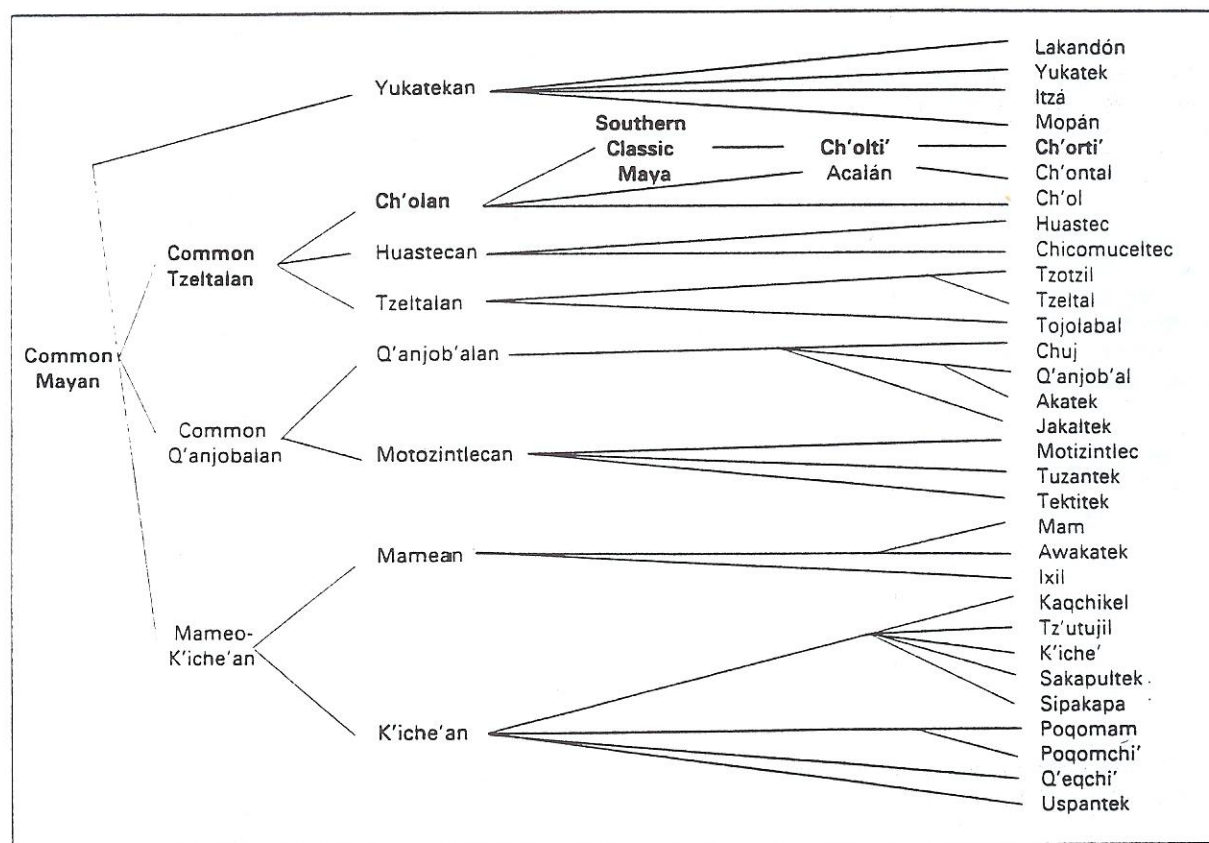


Figure 7. The Mayan family tree, corrected for the relationships between Classic Maya, Ch'olti', and Ch'orti'.

The evidence that Ch'orti' is a descendant of Ch'olti' is overwhelming. It cannot be by chance that the new, ergative set of pronouns is systematically reconstructable to the pronouns and the markers of the Ch'olti'an dual INCOMPLETIVES. It cannot further be accidental that the ancient x-FUTURE marker shows up in Ch'orti' as a negative FUTURE marker, even though the distinction between INCOMPLETIVE and FUTURE is lost elsewhere in Ch'orti'. Finally, it is not fortuitous that there are a series of unique, grammatical markers shared by the three languages, which are so unique, and which have developed historically along such natural lines, as to confirm with surety that Ch'olti' and Ch'orti' are diachronically related.

Since Houston *et al.* (1998) have shown that Classic Maya is ancestral to Ch'olti', then the lineage Ch'olti'-to-Ch'orti' constitutes a completing link, making Ch'orti' the ultimate descendant Classic Maya. In other words, the logic of transitivity says that if Classic Maya is the ancestor of Ch'olti', and if Ch'olti' is the ancestor of Ch'orti', then Classic Maya is the ancestor of modern Ch'orti', making Ch'orti' the only modern language in the world with such a pedigree. If Classic Maya civilization is important for its intellectual, physical, and spiritual achievements, then the data presented in this paper should promote Ch'orti' to a level of historical interest enjoyed by no other Mayan language.

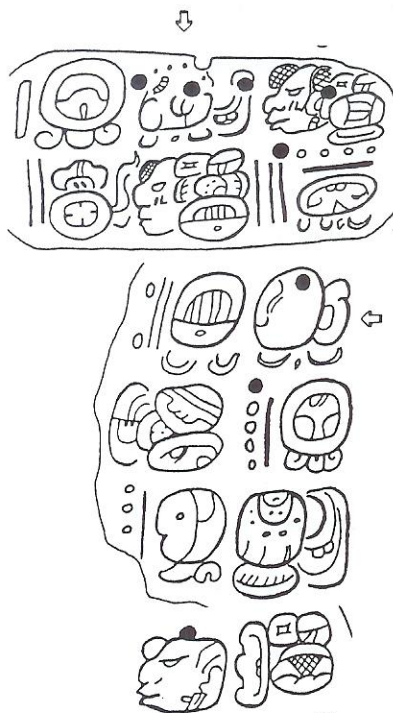
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Narrative Time in the Classic-Period Inscriptions

This section of the Notebook contains brief comments and several passages introducing an interpretation of certain suffixes that accompany some common discourse patterns. While some verb suffixes incorporate aspectual differences, indicating type of action, others convey instead distinct differences in narrative time. The set of status markers used for aspectual inflection differs markedly among verb classes. For example, some that appear on positional verbs are quite different from those on root-intransitive or passive verbs. The set of suffixes used to indicate changes in narrative time are quite similar across all verb classes. Similar or identical forms occur even on certain nouns, adverbs, and adjectives.



(1) Piedras Negras Shells
Drawing by David Stuart.

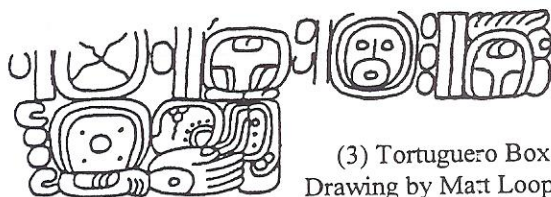
The scribe (1) relates a later event to an earlier one by mentioning it again and suffixing an adverb, the past deictic clitic *-iji(y)*, to the verb. Both time periods in the distance number, *winik* ("winal") and *hab'* ("tun"), also take forms of the same suffix. The earlier event, a birth, is reported in the previous passage without the clitic suffix.

deictic = "pointing out or to"
clitic = "a word that cannot stand alone"

Here (2) an intransitive verb meaning "to happen", "to come to pass" refers back to a previous clause and connects it to the next. The person marker, unmarked, accomplishes the reference and the past deictic clitic indicates that event's position earlier in time.

**u-ti-ya > uti(y)*
ut- i- Ø- iji(y)
happen-IV.COM-3SA-ADV.CLT

The temporal deictic clitic *-ij*, a counterpart to *-iji(y)*, indicates time in the future (3 & 4). ⇨



(3) Tortuguero Box
Drawing by Matt Looper.



(2) Unprovenanced Panel
Piedras Negras Area.
After drawing by John
Montgomery

(4) Palenque Temple of
the Sun Tablet. Drawing
by Linda Schele.

Reconstructions of the future and past temporal deictic clitics (after Kaufman and Norman 1984):

NOTE: Despite the shorter reconstruction, evidence for a longer form of **ak'b'i* comes from Morán's Ch'olti' (1625): *acbihi*, and of **oni* from Acalan Chontal (1614): *-onihi*. Also, shorter forms of those reconstructed with **-ij-i* suffixes are documented in linguistic sources.

Future:

Proto-Ch'olan	Proto-Mayan	Tzeltalan	
* <i>chab'-ij</i>	pM * <i>ka'b'-eej</i>	Tz * <i>cha'b'-ej</i>	["two days from now"]
* <i>ux-ij</i>	pM * <i>oox-eej</i>	Tz * <i>ox-ej</i>	["three days from now"]
* <i>chun-ij</i>	pM * <i>kooñ-eej</i>	Tz * <i>chon-ej</i>	["four days from now"]

Past:

* <i>äk'b'-i</i>		Tz * <i>ahk'ab'-ey</i>	["yesterday"]
* <i>chäb'-ij-i</i>	pM * <i>ka'b'-ej-eer</i>	Tz * <i>cha(')b'-j-ey</i>	["two days ago"]
* <i>chun-ij-i</i>	pM * <i>kooñ-ej-eer</i>	Tz * <i>chon-j-ey</i>	["four days ago"]
* <i>on-i</i>	pM * <i>ooñ-eer</i>	cf. Tzo <i>wo'ne</i>	["a long time ago"]
* <i>ux-ij-i</i>	pM * <i>oox-ej-eer</i>	Tz * <i>ox-j-ey</i>	["three days ago"]

The Acalan Chontal scribes of the *Paxbolon-Maldonado Papers* suffix the past deictic clitic *-ihi* to verbs. The most common is based on the root *than* (*t'an*) "word" which as a derived transitive verb means "to speak" (c & d).

[reconstruction and analysis:]

a- ca- than- i- Ø- ihi
ASP-1SE-speak-TV.COM-3SA-ADV.CLT

[Incomplete:]

a) *yual uthane uthan dios* (AGI 1614:167.1)

Then he was speaking the word of God

[Completive:]

b) ... *ukal uxlub chanlub uthani takba chançabiliceti* (AGI 1614:161.17-18)

... because he said three times or four times to me, "You ought to be killed."

[Completive + *-ihi* clitic:]

c) *cahi uyithocbel paxbolonacha ahau acathanihi* (AGI 1614:159.24-25)

they began to join up [it began their joining up] with Paxbolonacha, the ruler, whom I have already mentioned.

d) *hal xach hiliob chumuanioh ya ta chanpoton acathanihi* (AGI 1614:162.32-3)

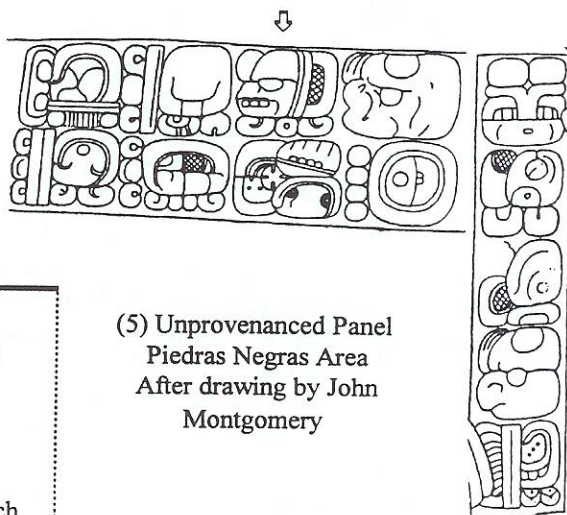
For a long time then they rested and they sat around in Champotón, as I have already said.

Orthography

PMP = Insc.

b	b'
c	k
ç	s
dz	tz'
h	j, h
k	k'
pp	p'

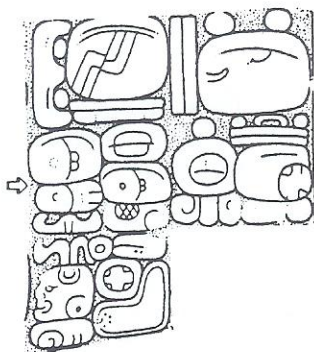
Piedras Negras shells (1), *siyaj/siyaji(y)*, the Unprovenanced Panel (2 & 5), *cham/chami(y)*, and the Acalan Chontal example (f), *numon/numihi*, all illustrate the referential technique of stating or restating an earlier event after a distance number to lead into another event or to establish a connection between two events.



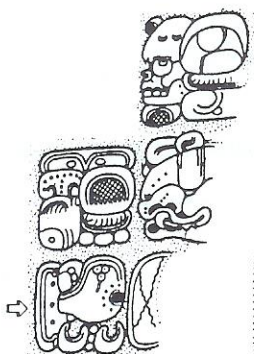
f) *ya ochi chiuoha paçi uzulhaban bayca numon yithocobi ya xach numihi holi tuyestancia francisco maldonado*. (AGI 1614:169.1-3)

Then he entered *Chiuoha*. He proceeded by way of *Uzulhaban* where I passed by (spent time?) with them. Then after he had passed by (spent the time?), he left by way of Francisco Maldonado's ranch.

(5) Unprovenanced Panel
Piedras Negras Area
After drawing by John
Montgomery



(6) Ixkun Stela 2.
Drawing by Ian Graham.



(8) Yaxchilan Lintel
46. Drawing by Ian
Graham.

Quirigua Stela E (9) includes the transitive verbs *ukab'iji(y)* and *yilaji(y)* used in parallel passages for back reference. They add information about who witnessed or was in charge of a preceding event. A third back reference near the end employs the intransitive verb *uti(y)* and adds information about where the event occurred.

Ixkun Stela 2 (6) and an Acalan Chontal passage (g) use *uti(y)* and *talihix* "after it happened," to provide for narrative flow and to establish a link between two events by referring to an earlier event in a general way. (See also inscription 2.)

g) *talihix huli licenssia* (AGI 1614:169.19)

After that happened (came about), the license arrived . . .

Often a difference in narrative time, not calendrical time, triggers the past deictic clitic. The narrative refers *back* to a previous clause or to something already reported elsewhere. It is usually a person marker, Set A (ergative) or Set B (absolutive) depending upon the verb, that accomplishes the reference. A temporal deictic clitic indicates the direction in narrative time. Examples come from both the inscriptions (7 - 9) and the *Paxbolon Maldonado Papers* (h & i).

h) *hain aHau paxbolonacha acathanihi ayan uxtul uppenelob pachimalahix*

ukaba don luis paxua ukaba uppenel hainix bane pudzihi (AGI 1614:156.28-30)

This king, Paxbolonacha, whom I have already mentioned, had three sons. He [one of them] was named Pachimalahix. His son was named Don Luis Paxua. This one, he [is the one who] fled.

i) . . . *uppenel alamatazel acadzibihi* (AGI 1614:157.2-3)

. . . a son of Alamatazel about whom I have already written.



(7) Piedras Negras Shells
Drawing by David Stuart.



(9) Quirigua Stela E
Drawing by Matthew
Looper.

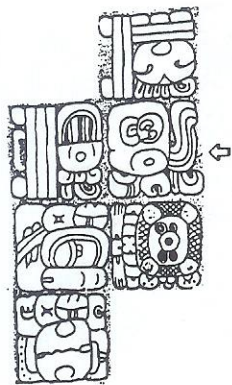
j) *bixihiix abi paxbolonacha ahau* (AGI 1614:160.20)

The king Paxbolonacha, it is said, traveled (went away).

k) *chumvanihiix ta ahaulel paxtun uch'ochocal uppenel paxbolonacha tanix upectzil utakya yithoc yoça ha padreob cahix utuclabel upetelob aHauel baob yithoc belcah bixic uçacanob padre ta campech. . .* (AGI 1614:163.26-31)

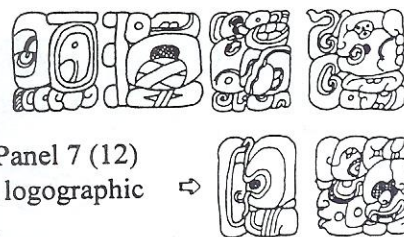
He was seated in reign (in the lordship), the younger brother of the son of Paxbolonacha. During it [his reign] was their news and their preaching along with being made to enter the water by the Fathers (priests). It began the consulting of all the lords with the people about going to seek out the Fathers in Campeche.

The first verb in each Quirigua Stela E passage (9), *tzuhtzaji(y)*, and the first *uti(y)* include the past clitic as do the highlighted verbs in the Acalan Chontal examples (j) & (k). It functions to mark distant-past events. The actual interval required depends upon the author's viewpoint but is usually a considerable span.



(10) Palenque TI East
Drawing by Linda Schele.

Figures (10) and (11) include the past deictic clitic on two positional verbs in the completive aspect: **chum-[mu]-wa-ni-ya** *chumwani(y)* and **chum-[mu]-la-ji-ya** *chumlaji(y)*. Site Q Glyphic Panel 7 (12) uses **yi-'il-ji**, a glyphic spelling that occurs only in logographic versions and so can still be interpreted as *yilaji(y)*.



(12) Site Q Glyphic Panel 7. Drawing by Linda Schele.

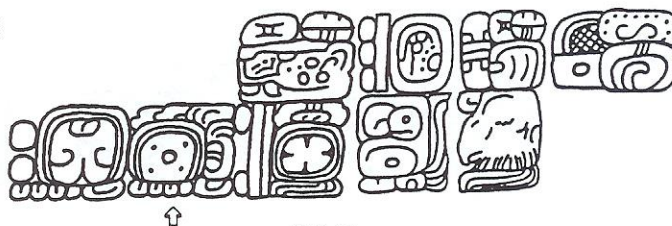
These and the other examples testify to a suffix that is quite similar across verb-class and word-class boundaries. There is often as much variation within verb types as among them.

Differences in the form of the suffixes, other than purely glyphic variation, are often dependent upon the phonetic character of the original final consonant and not upon the class of verb involved. Since aspectual suffixes among the Ch'olan languages tend to vary by verb type, it is unlikely that these *-iji(y)*, *-ji(y)*, and *-i(y)* suffixes here are based upon aspect.



(11) Site Q Panel 2
Drawing by Linda Schele.

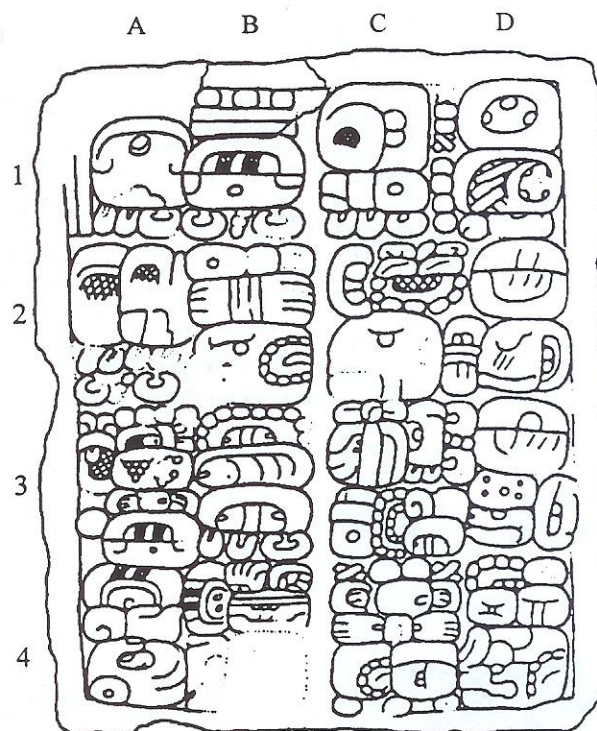
Most of the time, the deictic clitic does not appear in its full reconstructible form. Instead, processes of syncopation and merger render it more compact.



(13) Tortuguero Box. Drawing by Matt Looper.

But the Tortuguero Box (13) includes **och b'ijiji(y)** in a sentence introduced by a distance number. The scribe leaves little doubt about knowing well the full form of the past deictic clitic.

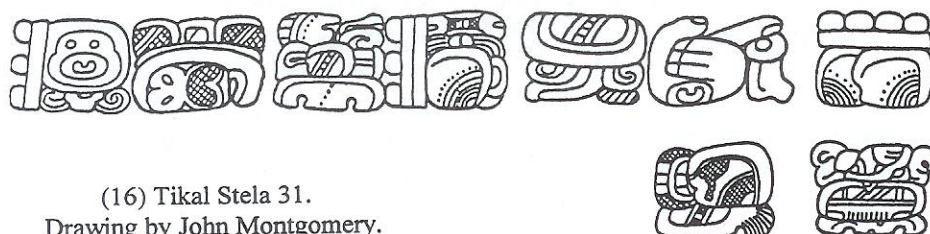
The scribe of Copan Altar F' (14) outdoes the Tortuguero colleague. The usual glyphic spellings of the distance number glyphs (A1-B1) precede a rare full example of the *ut*-compound (C1) written with the *j* of the clitic expressed: **'u-ti-ji-ya** for *utiji(y)*. Next (A2) comes a normal spelling for a passive compound, **pa-k'a-hi-ya** for *pahk'aji(y)*. Then the participial form of *jul*-, "to arrive" is written **ju-le-li-ji-ya** giving *juleliji(y)* (B3). Verbal inflection is not required on a participle in this context so the first *-i* in *-iji(y)* serves only to provide the first syllable of the clitic. Finally (C3a), another passive compound occurs but this time with the full form of the clitic: **jok'-jo-ji-ji-ya** rendering *johk'ajiji(y)* or, if the logogram is *joy*-, then *johyajiji(y)*. While some of the examples in this inscription are rare, they are very important because they both attest to the full underlying shape of the past deictic clitic and to its implicit presence even in contracted and syncopated versions of the compounds.



(14) Copan Altar F'
Drawing by Barbara Fash.



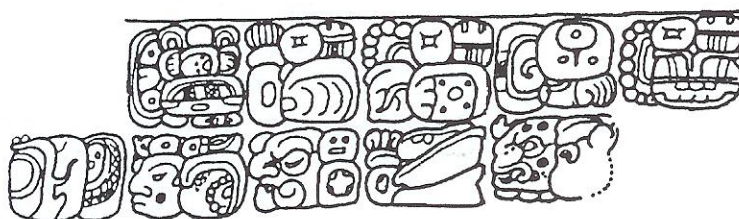
(15) Cancuen Panel.
Drawing by Linda Schele.



(16) Tikal Stela 31.
Drawing by John Montgomery.



(17) Piedras Negras Area
Looted Panels.
Drawing by Linda Schele.

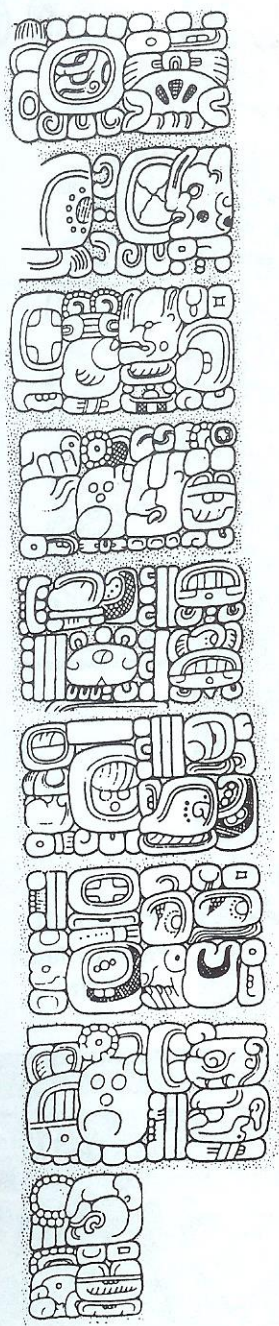


(18) Piedras Negras Lintel 3.
Drawing by David Stuart.

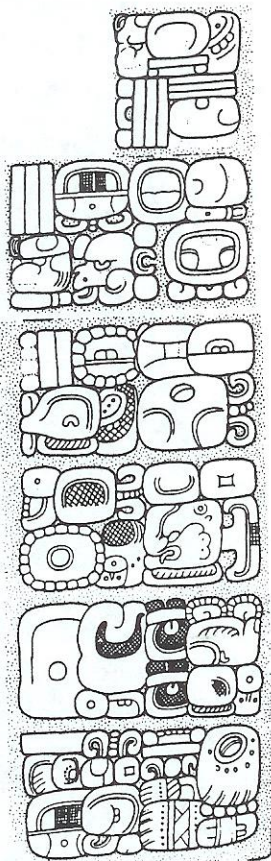
(19) Palenque Palace Tablet.
Drawing by Linda Schele.



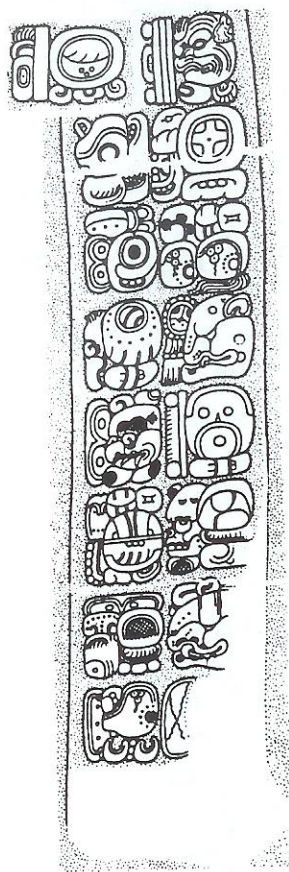
(20) Palenque Temple of the
Inscriptions West Panel.
Drawing by Linda Schele.



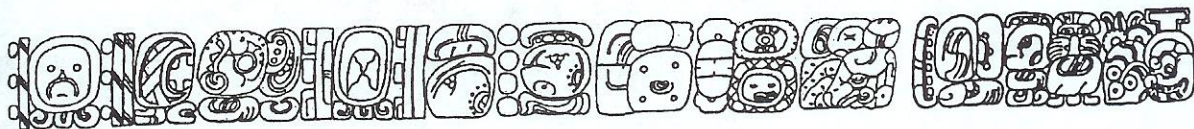
(21) Yaxchilan Hieroglyphic
Stairway 3, Tread 1.
Drawing by Ian Graham.



22) Yaxchilan Lintel 46.
Drawing by Ian
Graham.



23) Copan Stela 6.
Drawing by Barbara
Fash.



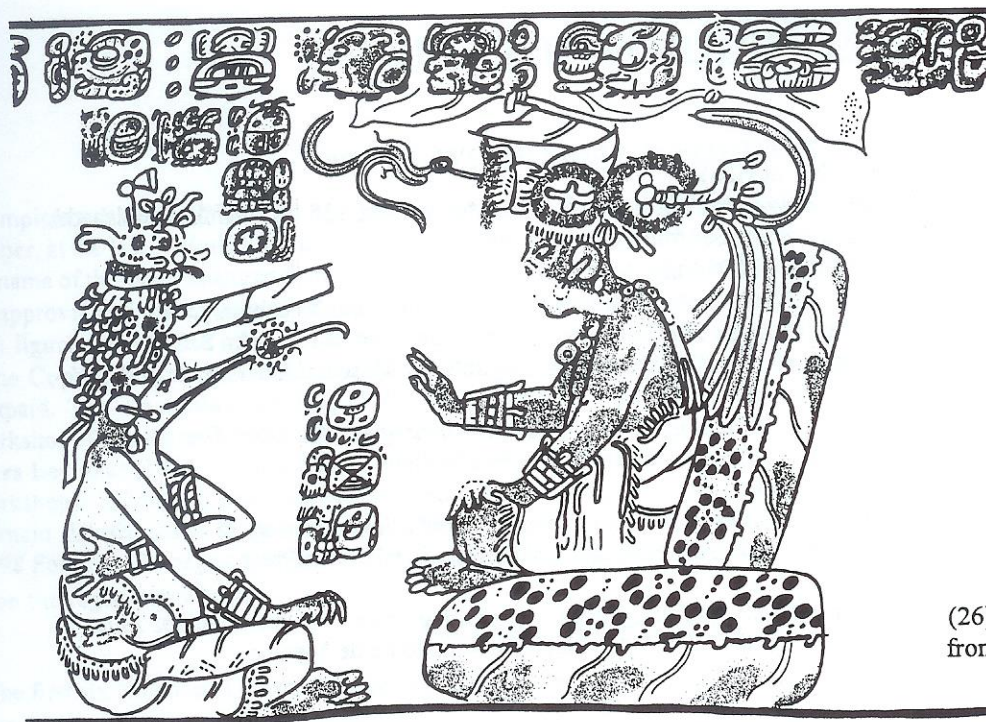
(24) Palenque Sarcophagus.
Drawing by Merle Greene Robertson



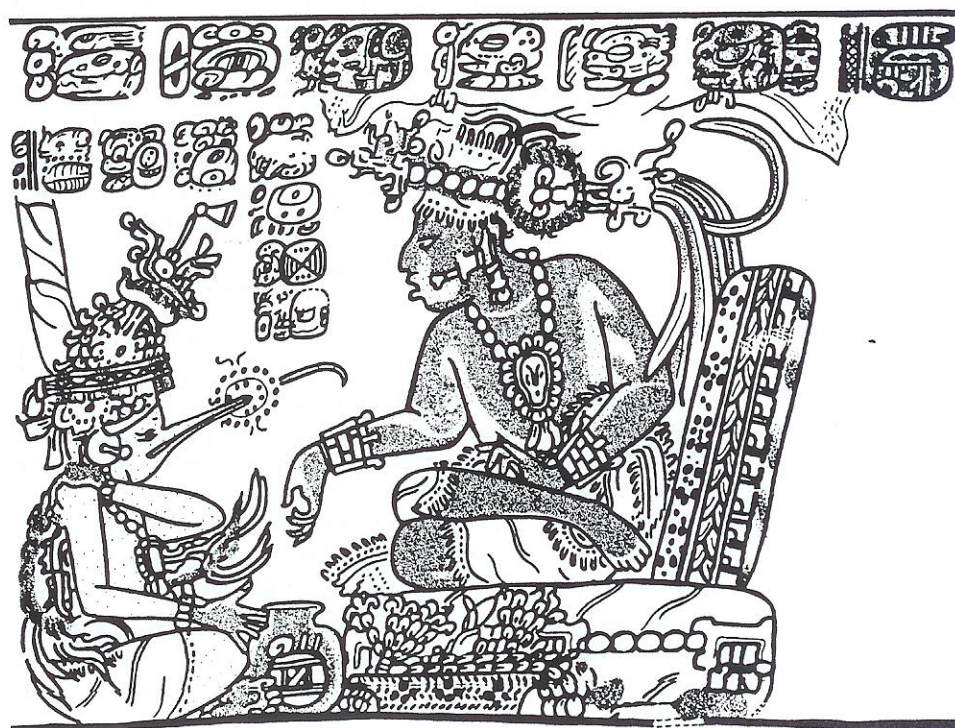
(25) K1398.
Photo by Justin
Kerr.



K1398



(26) Tikal, Vessel MT176
from Burial 196. Drawing
in Culbert (1993).



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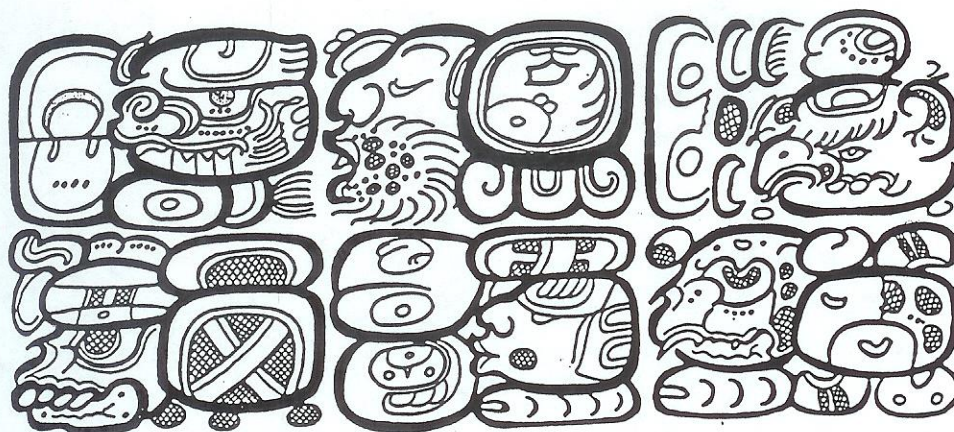
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